

SARDAR DYAL SINGH

PUBLIC
LIBRARY

NEW DELHI



Class No. 954.57

Book No. C 835 H

Accession No. 3334



DYAL SINGH LIBRARY TRUST SOCIETY

1, Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg, New Delhi-110002

Phone: 3234907

Ac. No.

2334

Cl. No.

954.5

C83511

- Please return this book by the last date stamped.
- Please check this book is not damaged before borrowing.
- You may be asked to pay for books returned in a damaged condition.

--	--	--	--

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

Translation of the

SIKKHANN DI RAJ DI VIKHIA

Narratives of the ten Gurus, history of the Sikhs from the rise of Maharaja Ranjti Singh to the occupation of the Panjab by the English, a short resume of the customs, rites, songs, and proverbs of the Sikhs; and twenty discourses regarding events in the life of Guru Nanak, taken from the Janam Sakhi, or Life of Nanak. with an Appendix containing some useful technical words, in Roman Character.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED

BY

HENRY COURT



SUSIL GUPTA (INDIA) PRIVATE LIMITED
CALCUTTA 12

1959

FIRST PUBLISHED, LAHORE, 1888
SECOND EDITION, CALCUTTA, 1959

Published by Sual Gupta for Sual Gupta (India) Private Ltd.,
35, Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta - 12 and printed by Rev. Fr. H.
Roemer, S.J., at the Little Flower Press, 146, Bow Bazar Street,
Calcutta - 12.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE translation of this work has been by no means an easy task, as the sentences in the original, and in the last part more particularly, are so disjointed, that it was very difficult to render them into English. I have, therefore, made the translation as nearly literal as possible adding words, in brackets, to connect the meaning.

Wherever I have been able to find a translation of the verses in Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, I have given his translation as well as my own; for although I believe in many instances, he has lost the point of the verses, still I do not consider myself a sufficiently competent authority to pronounce that he is wrong, and I leave it to others to decide on this point, and they will, at all events, have both versions before them, and can select which they prefer. All I would add on the subject is that Pandat Nihal Chand, of Lahore, by whom I have been most materially aided in this work, and with whom I read it most carefully through, considered mine to be the more correct.

I am certain there are many errors, or if not errors, at least differences of opinion, in the way of rendering a number of the passages; I hope that these may be fully pointed out. . . I do not ask to be spared, for my object is to present a really useful and correct translation to the public, and this I can only hope to arrive at, by others, better acquainted with the language than myself, kindly pointing out any errors which they may notice. . . .

The appendix of technical words and terms has been chiefly taken from the Panjabi Dictionary published at the Mission Press, Ludhiana, but I have arranged it, for general utility and easy reference, in its present alphabetical form, and have added a reverse index in English to enable a word to be easily found, if required, in translating English into Gurmukhi. . . .

I must not conclude without publicly acknowledging my best and warmest thanks to Pandat Nihal Chand, of Lahore, with whom I carefully read through, and corrected, the translation. . . .

M. H. COURT, LIEUT.-COL.,

15th Bengal Cavalry.

MUSDOORIE:

The 30th May, 1888.

MAJOR HENRY COURT

Major Henry Court, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 15th Bengal Cavalry at Musoorie in the early eighties, was a famous scholar, linguist and Indologist. He translated *Airish-i-Mahfil*, *Nasr-i-Be Nazin*, and *Selections from the Kulliyat-i-Sauda* and Malcolm's *History of Persia* Vol. II, adapted to the Persian translation of *Mirza Hairat*.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

How excellent is that Supreme Being, who, by His Power, having created the garden of the earth, adorned it with various kinds of colours and shapes, and made each flower and fruit in it so beautiful in its excellence, that, to the present day, no wise man, by his wisdom, has been able to alter the original form of even one single leaf in it, or to make and manifest anything after a new fashion. Again, how very extremely powerful is that Supreme Being, who does whatever He wills. Behold ! the same man is sometimes poor, sometimes rich, now a king, and now a beggar ; and how exceedingly wonderful is His Creation, for the form of one does not blend with that of another. From hearing of those factories,¹ which He has continually made and obliterated up to the present time, it is plainly manifest that the Creator has no need of any one ; and this also becomes known, that He has made the world in such a wonderful way, that the making and effacing it is His custom from old. Behold ! the holy, the pious, the bad, the good, kings, and subjects, who have come into it, they have never been allowed always to remain in it. If you ask the truth, then the world is a place of halting, and those people, who come here and live long, and, forgetting their death, become oblivious of their Creator, they lose their birth² in play. If I were to write an account of the people of the whole world, then I would never come to an end, but in this book I will narrate somewhat of the circumstances of a very small portion of the world, namely, of the Panjab, and the people who have come into this land during the last four centuries, and the deeds and acts which they did before they, at last, took their original road. There are three parts in this book. In the first part, there is a short account of the life and deeds of the ten Gurus (spiritual teachers) commencing with Baba Nanak, who was one of the best amongst the holy men of this country, down to Guru Govind Singh, who laid the

¹ I.e., persons, who are His workshops in which His doings are carried on.

² The expressions "birth and death", "coming and going," &c., are repeatedly used to signify life.

foundation of the Sikh religion. In the second part, there is a narration of events, commencing from the Maharajah Ranjit Singh down to the arrival of the English in the Panjab. In the third part, there is an account of the songs and stories and rites and customs of this country, and a short enumeration of the castes, religions, and beliefs. This book I, Pandat Sardha Ram, who live in the city of Phalour, in the district of Jalandhar, prepared agreeably to the desire of Sir Donald MacLeod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, in the year 1922, Bir Bikramajit, i.e., 1866 A.D.; whoever shall fix his thoughts on it, and travel through it from beginning to end, will place in his mind the full particulars of the Panjab.

CONTENTS

NARRATIVES OF THE TEN GURUS

Chapter	I. Account of Baba Nanak	..	..	1
	II. Account of Guru Angad	..	..	11
	II. " Guru Angad	..	..	11
	III. " " Amardas	..	..	15
	IV. " " Ram Das	..	..	19
	V. " " Arjan	..	..	22
	VI. " " Hargovind	..	..	25
	VII. " " Harrai	..	..	30
	VIII. " " Har Kisan	..	..	35
	IX. " " Teg Bahadur	..	..	37
	X. " " Govind Singh	..	..	42
Code of the Sikhs	..	..	..	44
History of Govind Singh	..	..	..	45
Jafar nama, or letter of victory	..	..	..	50

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

Chapter	XI. The names of the twelve Misals	..	63
	XII. Account of the Misals	..	66
	XIII. Rise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh	..	69
	XIV. Character of Ranjit Singh	..	79
	XV. Account of Maharaja Kharak Singh	..	80
	XVI. Account of Maharaja Nau Nihal Singh	..	81
	XVII. The Lahaur Campaign	..	85

CASTES, RITES, SONGS, AND PROVERBS

Chapter	XVIII. Castes and rites	..	..	104
	XIX. Music and songs	..	..	121
	XX. Proverbs	..	..	142

TWENTY DISCOURSES ON EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF BABA NANAK

Chapter	XXI. Discourse with Gupal Pandha	..	148
	XXII. Discourse regarding the putting on the Brahminical thread	..	152

XXIII. Discourse with the physician	156
XXIV. Discourse regarding the store	158
XXV. Discourse regarding the betrothal of Nanak	164
XXVI. Discourse regarding the marriage of Nanak	170
XXVII. Discourse with Sama Pandat	177
XXVIII. Discourse with Nabab Daulat Khan ..	178
XXIX. Discourse with Rai Bulhar	184
XXX. Discourse regarding the (idol) Salig Ram ..	190
XXXI. Discourse regarding the Arti Sohila ..	193
XXXII. Discourse in Sangla (Ceylon) with Raja Siv Nath	195
XXXIII. Discourse with Mian Mittha	198
XXXIV. Discourse with the Siddhs	206
XXXV. Discourse with worshippers of Govind ..	210
XXXVI. Discourse with the demon Kaunda ..	218
XXXVII. Discourse with Sultan Hamid Karun ..	221
XXXVIII. Discourse with Chattardas Pandat ..	228
XXXIX. Discourse with Kalu	231
XL. Discourse with the Pandats of Kasi (Banaras)	240
Glossary of Technical Terms and words	
Gurumukhi and English	243
English and Gurumukhi	267

CHAPTER I

ACCOUNT OF BABA NANAK

In a village, called Raibhondi Talwandi, which is now known as Nankala, situated in the district of the Tasil of Sarakpur, and the division of Lahaur, in the house of a Khatri Vedi,³ named Kalu, who, at that time, was the Patwari (land steward), in the year 1526 B.B. i.e., the year 1469 A.D., on the day of the full moon of the bright half of the month Kattak, at midnight, a son was born. When Kalu gave information to his family priest, then he, having meditated according to the customs of the Sastras, called the name of that child Nanak, and said, "O Kalu ! this child will be of a very good and religious nature, and many people will follow after him ; he is the beloved of God, and will remove the perplexities of many people ; and remember this also, that this is no child but an Incarnation of the Deity ; for this reason, his name is Nanak Nirangkari (Nanak, the incorporeal). He will regard the one Incorporeal Lord only as true, and will reverence no one else." On hearing this, Kalu was greatly pleased. When he had accomplished all the rites and customs observed at birth, and had dismissed the priest with much kindness, he said, "O Lord, I thank Thee, with all my heart and soul, for that Thou hast caused such a wonderful son to be born in the house of such a poor one as I." Now they relate his history thus ; that when Nanak was nine years old, then, agreeably to his father's command, in the hot season, he went to a jungle to graze his buffaloes, and becoming distressed from the heat, he went to sleep under a tree ; people say that a black snake crawled on to him, and, having spread its hood over his face, shaded him. In the meanwhile, Raibular, who was the proprietor of that village, having seen this his state, said to himself, "This child is some worshipper of the Deity," and having come to his father, began to say to him : "This thy son is

³ The Baba Khatri (or the Khatri of the line of Nanak) are divided into two families, the Sodhi and Vedi, but the term Sodhi is generally applied to the disciples of, or converts to, the Sikh religion from Guru Govind's time, and Vedi is applied to those who were converted by Nanak, but they are not called Singhs, for it must be remembered that the Sikh race only took firm root and began to be so called from the time of the last Guru, Govind Singh.

very holy." When Nanak was fifteen years old, then his father, having given him twenty rupees, and sent with him (to attend on him) a servant, named Bhai Bala, who from old had lived in the house, said to him, "O son ! do thou go and purchase some good merchandise." Then Nanak, taking him (Bala) with himself, issued forth to buy something ; after having gone a little way, he saw a company of beggars, who were destitute of food and clothes, and, having taken compassion on them, fed them with those twenty rupees. Bala, his servant, admonished him much, saying, "Kalu sent you to buy some good merchandise, why do you throw away these rupees to no purpose ?" Nanak did not heed him in the least, but thus addressed him, "O Bala, what merchandise is better than feeding the holy in the Name of God ?" and having thus said, he returned home. When Kalu heard this, he beat Nanak very severely, and the news of it reached Raibular, who, from having seen the snake overshadowing the face of Nanak, had great faith in him ; he, Raibular, gave the twenty rupees from his own pocket, and thus relieved him from his beating ; but as Nanak still used to take money from the house (of his father), and expend it in the name of God, at last his father sent him to the city of Sultanpur, which is in the district of Kapurthala, to the house of his sister Nanaki, and wrote a letter to this effect to Lala Jairam, who was Nanak's brother-in-law. "Whereas Nanak causes much loss here, I have, therefore, sent him to you ; do you keep him with you, and teach him some business and profession, that he may eschew the society of beggars, and become fit to associate with the good." When Nanak arrived in Sultanpur, then Nanaki and Jairam, on seeing him, were much pleased ; moreover, after a few days, in the year 1540, on the 14th of the bright half of the month Maghar, they placed the lad in service as storekeeper⁴ to the Nawab Daulat Khan Lodi, and having made over to him a thousand rupees in cash, said, "O Nanak ! now take up this business, and do not cause any loss ! if God wills, then thou wilt obtain much profit from this occupation." Nanak, having taken with him that servant, whose name was Bhai Bala, and who, by caste, was a Sandhu Jatt, began to carry on the transaction of the business ; still his custom of giving food and drink, to and

⁴ A store is kept up by all small chiefs from which supplies of flour, dal, &c., are issued to their attendants ; this is called the Modi Khana or Commissariat godown.

bestowing clothes on, the good and holy, which he had from old, did not depart from his heart. When, in this manner, he had continued carrying on, for some time, the affairs of the business, and had rendered his accounts in full, then in the year 1544, on the 5th of the bright half of the month Maghar, he became betrothed, in Pakhoke Randhawa, to the daughter of Mula Khatri, who, by family, was a Chona. When the day of his marriage drew near, then Nanak's father, Kalu, together with his brotherhood, setting forth from Talwandi, came to Sultanpur, and thence, having formed the marriage assembly, in the year 1545, on the seventh of the bright half of the month Bhadon, went to Pakhoke Randhawa, and performed the marriage of Nanak. Having completed the marriage, Nanak went for some days to Talwandi; then, when some days had passed, having come from there to Sultanpur, he began to carry on the business of the store. Nanak, who always remained engaged in the worship of his Lord and performance of service to the good and holy, did not show much affection to his wife. One day, when his sister Nanaki had admonished him much, he cohabited with his wife. After a short time, in his thirty-second year, a son was born in the house of Baba Nanak, and his name was called Siri Chand. When Siri Chand was four-and-a-half years old, then another son was conceived. This is the occurrence of one day; Nanak, from the desire of worshipping his Lord, went out and did not return home for three days; on this, it became reported in the city, and, in Nawab Daulat's (mind) there arose this suspicion, that Nanak, having embezzled the money of the store, had gone away somewhere. When the Nawab had spoken some severe words, about Nanak to Nanak's brother-in-law, Jairam, then Nanak, having returned on the third day, rendered his accounts in full, besides a surplus of seven hundred and sixty rupees in the accounts to the Nawab's credit; this sum he asked to be distributed to the good and holy, and from that very day, having left his family and the business, he became a free man. The Nawab and other people admonished him much, but he would not listen to what any one said; but, from that day forth, he took up his abode in the jungles and tombs, and, seated there, commenced to give utterance to the songs, full of the sorrow of separation, which are written in the Granth-Sahib. Then, after three months, that child, which had been conceived, was born, and his name was called Lakhmi Das. When Siri Chand was

four and three-quarter years old, and Lakhmi Das a baby in arms, and Baba Nanak had turned devotee, then Nanak's father-in-law kept Siri Chand with himself, and left Lakhmi Das, who was young, together with his mother, in Sultanpur, in the house of Jairam, who was Nanak's brother-in-law. In the meanwhile, news reached Nanak's father in Talwandi, that Nanak had turned fakir. Kalu, on hearing it, became very anxious, and calling Mardana the Dum, who was the Mirasi (family bard) of the family, said to him: "Do thou go and bring news of Nanak from Sultanpur." When Mardana came to Nanak, on seeing his fakir-like state, he commenced to say: "O Nanak! what disguise is this thou hast assumed? and what advantage is there, in leaving thy family, and becoming a fakir?" Nanak said to him: "That house is false, but this abode to which I have attained is true; but come, I have, for a long time, desired thee, do thou remain with me." Mardana at first refused to remain with him, but afterwards, of his own accord, accepting hunger and nakedness, he began to live with him. Nanak, having called that Bhai Bala, who was his old servant, sent him to Talwandi, saying, "Do thou go in place of Mardana, and give Lala Kalu certain intelligence of Nanak having become a fakir." Then Mardana and Nanak both began to live together, and when Baba Nanak gave utterance to songs in the worship of his Lord, Mardana, having set those songs to music, used to play them on the rebec, and sing them. Seeing his new customs and strange habits, all the neighbouring people began to call him a wanderer from the right road. When Mardana, a Mirasi by caste, who was weak at heart, heard himself called a wanderer by his brethren, he became sorrowful; on which Nanak said: "O Mardana! do not thou become wavering; this is the custom of the world that those, who leave their ways, and follow the road of God, them they call mad and wanderers; but there is nothing to fear, for we have no regard for them, and have sold ourselves in the name of God, who is Lord of all." Then Nanak, together with Mardana, having come to Emnawad, to the house of Lalo the carpenter, who was a very good holy man, lived there. When he had determined to remain there a while, then Mardana went to Talwandi for some time to visit his family. At first, on the very hearing of the words of Bala, Mahita Kalu and his brother Lalo were much grieved about Nanak; but when Mardana gave them further full news of him, they became still more distressed, and were greatly enraged at him

(Mardana).⁵ Mardana explained much to Kalu, "O, Mahita ! Nanak has not become a fakir, but a banker of bankers, and a king of kings"; but Kalu, on hearing his words, heaved many deep sighs of regret. In the meanwhile, Raibular, hearing of this circumstance, that Mardana had come from Nanak, called him to himself, and asked Nanak's news. When Mardana had told him of his holy state, then the Rai, with much entreaty, said, "If thou wilt also obtain me a sight of him, I shall ever remain under a debt of gratitude to thee." Mardana replied, "O Rai ! I have no control over the fakir, but, on my own part, I will show no remissness in taking you to him." In the meanwhile, Mardana, according to his promise, set forth to return, and taking Bhai Bala, who had arrived before him, came to the house of Lalo, the carpenter, and, rejoining Nanak, told him the news of all being well at Talwandi. One day, when they saw Nanak seated alone, Mardana and Bala, joining their hands, petitioned: "O Guru ! Raibular is very anxious to obtain a sight of you, and if to-day you will go to Talwandi, then his desire will be fulfilled." Nanak, having agreed to their request, took his leave of Lalo, the carpenter, and, departing thence, reached Talwandi, and, having arrived at the well of Bala, stopped there. Then Nanak's household, having heard of it, came, and, immediately on seeing his fakir-like state, storming, began to say, "O Nanak ! what disguise is this thou hast assumed ? Behold we, thy father and mother, uncle and other relations, seeing thee, are greatly distressed ; does no pity arise in thee ?" Hearing this speech, Nanak gave utterance to this song in the Maru Rag :

"Call patient endurance⁶ my mother, and contentment my father ;

"Call truth my uncle, for with these my heart has conquered its passions.⁷

"Listen Lalu, to these good qualities, but, as all people are bound in chains,

"How can they tell what are good qualities ?

⁵ In consequence of what he had told them. "Gal da har hona" means to become like the necklace round the neck. When a person comes and bothers any one and annoys him greatly, the common expression used is "You have become a weight on me like the necklace round my neck."

⁶ "Khima" also means "pardon."

⁷ Viz., Kam (lust) moh (worldly fascination) krodh (anger) lobh (covetousness) and hinkar (pride).

"Affection for God is my brother, and love of the True God is my son ;

"Patience has become my daughter, and in such I am absorbed.

"Forbearance is my companion, and prudence is my disciple ;

"Call these my family, who always remain with me ;

"The one Supreme Being is my Lord, and He it is who created me ;

"If Nanak left Him and became attached to some one else, he would be put to pain."

Hearing this, they all brought him to the Rai, and the Rai was greatly pleased to see him. The Rai entreated him much, "O Nanak ! do thou remain here, I will give thee some land free." But Nanak would not agree to remain there. His household also exhorted him greatly, but Nanak would not listen to what any one said, and after a few days, made preparations to return. Nanak's uncle, Lalu, said to him, "If thou art determined to wander about over the country, then do thou take some money, and traffic in horses, but it is not becoming for one like thee, to wander about like a fakir." Nanak, then, uttering this couplet, gave reply :

"I will listen to the Sastras, make them my merchandise, and, take about (for sale) the horses of truth ;

"I will make good works my cash, and will not delay this till to-morrow ;

"I will go to God's country, for, there, I shall obtain an abode of Joy."

At last, when Nanak began to depart, then the Rai said : "Point me out some work (to do)." Nanak said nothing with his mouth, but by signs gave him to understand : "Do you cause an unwall'd tank⁸ to be dug here." The Rai, there and then, agreed (to do so), and Nanak, together with Bhai Bala and Mardana, again came and lived in the house of that same Lalo, the carpenter. When fifteen days had passed there, then Nanak consulted with Mardana and Bala, saying, "Come, let us traverse some distant country ;" upon which, he, with those two, prepared (to do so). In short when Nanak set out from there, he went to the country of Bangala, and, in that country, visited various places of pilgrimage, and cities, and it is commonly reported, that in that country, by

⁸ Tobha is an unwall'd tank, a wall'd one being called tai.

reason of being a stranger, he underwent much fatigue in many places. Whilst he travelled over Bangala, he saw many other countries and mountains also, which were in its neighbourhood; moreover, as he formed friendships in those lands with many people, in some places he sang some of the songs, which are in the Granth; and at other places they visited, when Mardana the Mirasi, losing heart, became sad, Nanak used to give him advice and show him some miracles, and thus gave him much comfort. In short, Baba Nanak, always in company with those two, went also to Makka and Madina, and his discourses with the shrine attendants and priests at those places, are written in the book of the Janam Sakhi.⁹ After a time Nanak, making up his mind, returned from Makka to Sultanpur to see his sister Nanaki, and, having remained there a while, departed (again) to travel in the mountains, and, wandering about there, met with many good and holy men; moreover, he there met with Gorakhnath Jogi, who founded the sect of the Kanpati Jogis.¹⁰ In short, Baba Nanak went to many islands and harbours of the sea, and had a great fancy for visiting other countries, and that Mardana, the Mirasi, who always accompanied him, also died in a strange land in a city called Khurma near Kabul. Although, by caste he was a Mirasi, i.e., a Musalman, still during his life-time he used to say, "O Guru! do not bury me according to the Musalman rites, but burn me as a Hindu." Nanak, although in his heart he had no leaning towards either Hindu or Musalman customs, still thought it right to burn Mardana agreeably to what he had said. Then Baba Nanak, with Bala, went to Setband Ramesur, and there again met Gorakhnath Jogi. When he returned from there, he came to Achal which is near to the city of Watala; after attending a fair there, he again went back to Talwandi, which is quite close to it; and, on arrival, heard that his father Kalu, and Raibular, had died, and his uncle Lalu was alive. Nanak, on his arrival there, did not think it proper to see any one, but taking only a son of Mardana Mirasi, named Sajada, with him, went to Multan. When he came to Talambha, then a Thag, who was seated disguised as a good and holy

⁹ It must be borne in mind that this work contains only selections from the real Janam Sakhi, which is deposited in the Golden Temple at Anmritsar, and is about five times the size of this. It has been printed and copies can be obtained for fifteen rupees from the Government Book Depot, Lahore.

¹⁰ This sect of Jogis can be distinguished by their split ears; hence the name kan (ear) pati (split).

man, taking him to his house under the pretence of feeding him, imprisoned Sajada, Mirasi, who had gone to wander about the city, and said: "Give me whatever thou hast, otherwise thou shalt be killed." Nanak, having obtained information of this, sent Bhai Bala to that deceitful one, and got Sajada released, and, having gone to that impostor saint, shamed him much, saying: "O holy brother! what is this you practice? but although people, seeing thy disguised state, regard thee as a holy man, how will this remain hid from that Supreme Being, who knows the inward thoughts of every one." In this way, when he had admonished him much, and shamed him, that Thag, falling at the feet of Nanak, petitioned, "O true Guru! I am a great sinner, and a wretched man, but (listen to) my repentance! I will never do such a thing again." Nanak, hearing this, placed his hand on his head, and saying: "God forgive thy sins" departed from there. Again, wandering about, he came to that city Khurma, and left Sajada there at the tomb of his father, (while) he himself, with Bala, went to Kandhar. On the road, he placed his hand on a certain spot, the name of which has therefore been called Panja Sahib; in short on his hand, he there also bore up a mountain. Reaching Kabul, he admonished many Musalmans and Hindus in the name of God, and, afterwards met with a Jogi, Balgudai, on a mountain, which was known by his name, i.e., called the hill of Balgudai. Departing thence, he again came to the house of the carpenter Lalo. There the wife of Hayat Khan, Manjh Musalman, who formerly, seeing the goodness of Nanak, had believed in him, gave him her young daughter (in marriage), and, from that date, her name was called Mata Manjhot. Then Nanak, having made her his own, (married her), left her at Lalo's house, and himself, taking Bala with him, went to Kulchhetr for the fair of the eclipse of the sun. There were a great many fakirs assembled there, who, on hearing Nanak's name and description, became very angry with him; and other people also, who were Grihasts,¹¹ and had gone to that fair, and looked on Nanak as a wanderer from the right road, kept their distance from him. Moreover, a Khatri, who was a Munshi, having gone to King Bahiram Khan, Lodi, son of Sikandar Khan, Lodi, reported secretly to him, "A fakir, named Nanak, who has come to the fair, regards neither the Vedas nor the Kuran; if you will ask

¹¹ Grihast are those who marry and have families.

him what is his faith, then it will be well." Bahiram Khan, having called Nanak, asked him, and, becoming angry at his answers, imprisoned him in his prison-house, and caused Nanak and Bala to grind at a mill. When seven months had passed, at the battle of Panipat, Babar Chugatta¹² overcame Bahiram Khan, Lodi, and the rule of Babar was established over the whole country. On the seventh day, Babar, hearing of Baba Nanak being imprisoned without fault, let him go, and said, "Go, O Nanak; go wherever thou wilt." Nanak, together with Bala, came to Pakhoke-randhawa, the village of his father-in-law, and blessing Jite randhawa, who was by caste a Jatt, in the name of God, made him his own disciple. Again, after some days, he sent Jite and Bala to the house of Lalo, the carpenter, saying, "Go and bring the daughter of Hayat Khan Manjh:" and they both brought Mata Manjhot. When he was giving her a place to put up in at the house of Jite, his first wife also, who was known as Mata Choni, taking both her sons, named Siri Chand and Lakhmi Das with her, came and lived with Baba Nanak. Whilst Nanak remained there, many persons were blessed by hearing the name of God. One day Nanak, having given advice in the name of God, to a Jatt named Bura Randhawa, made him happy; and Malo, the carpenter, a Musalman, also received the blessing of (learning what true) worship is from Nanak, and his friend Ubara Khan, Pathan, who also converted to the worship of God by Nanak. In this same way, many persons obtained (the blessing of hearing) the Name of God, through the kindness of Nanak. Mata Manjhot lived seven years with Nanak, and died leaving two daughters. Again, Baba Nanak taking Bala with him, went to the country of Sindh, and there met with many people, and gave utterance to some of his songs. When he returned from there, he came to Pak Patan, which belongs to Sheikh Farid, Fakir, and met a person named Bahiram, who was a very good and holy man; moreover, at his suggestion, Nanak gave utterance to the song of Asa¹³, which is a very celebrated devotional song amongst the Sikhs. Then Baba Nanak came and lived in Pakhoke-randhawa, and Bhai Bala, who from old had remained with him, having received permission from him, went to Talwandi. Now Bala had become a very good man through the kindness of Nanak, and, when he was setting off for Talwandi, he asked, "O

¹² This is evidently Babar Chugattai, the contemporary of Salim Shah of Delhi, the builder of the fort called Salimgarh.

¹³ A translation of it is given in Trumpp's *Adi-Granth*, page 472.

Nanak ! who will be Guru in this country after you ? so that following after him, I may obtain salvation from his society." Guru Nanak said, "O Bala, the dignity of the Guruship will be given to one Lahina Khatri, who is a Tehun by family, and he will be quite like me, and a devotee of God ; my followers from following after him will enjoy peace (of mind)." On hearing this Bala went to Talwandi, and Baba Nanak remained there. Dwelling there, he converted many people ; moreover, in that place, he also bestowed the Guruship on Guru Angad, who is called the second king, and then, wandering about, he left this world in the year 1596 B.B., i.e. 1539 A.D., at a place called Kartarpur, which is now called the Dehra (shrine) of Baba Nanak. In short, on his death, the Hindus said ; "This was our Guru, we must burn his body," and the Musalmans, calling him their spiritual guide, wished to bury him. Whilst, in this way, much disputing was going on, his body disappeared and could not be found in the clothes which had been put on his corpse. For this reason, there is no tomb of his anywhere in the world ; but wherever there are any of his worshippers, there either his Kharawan,¹⁴ or likeness, or else some cloth or flag, is reverently put up.

This Baba Nanak was not a very learned or literate man, but, from merely associating with some holy man, the love of the service of God was aroused in him. His belief was somewhat different from the old Sastras, and books, and Muhammadan prophets and Hindi incarnations, for he did not hold deities and images and places of pilgrimage in much respect ; he only regarded one God, and considered all good and evil as coming from Him ; and from every song and word of his, his belief is clear, viz., that no living creature has any power. God does whatever He wills—if He wishes, He can manifest good ; and if He wills, He can shew forth evil.

Verse.

There is always an incessant movement¹⁵ in this fair.¹⁶
The whole fair, without the worship of God,
is contemptible.

¹⁴ Kharawan are wooden sandals, which are fastened on to the feet by means of leather thongs, very much resembling clogs or pattens.

¹⁵ Coming and going, i.e., being born and dying.

¹⁶ i.e., the world.

CHAPTER II

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU ANGAD

They narrate his circumstances (life) thus ; one day a Tehnu Khatri, named Lahina, went from his own village, which was one of the villages in the jungle, together with the members of his family, to obtain a sight of the goddess of Kot Kangra. When he arrived where Baba Nanak lived, it entered his head that as, at that place, there was a certain Nanak Nirangkari, who was reported to be a very good and holy man, he should go and obtain a sight of him also, and see of what kind and of what sect he was a fakir. Having thus reflected, and found out Nanak, he went to him and, approaching him, obtained a sight of him. When he had bent his head in obeisance, then Nanak asked : "O brother Sikh ! Who art thou ? and whence art thou come ! and tell me this also, what is thy name, and whither goest thou ?" He replied, "O holy Sir—I am by family a Tehnu Khatri and my name is Lahina ; I have come here only to obtain a sight of you, and am going with my family to Kangra." On hearing this speech, Nanak answered, "Well, brother, go and obtain a sight of the goddess," but he replied, "O Guru, my heart now does not desire to go further, for, from seeing thee, it has become satisfied ; now I have no care for any god or goddess ; this is now my desire, that I may always remain at thy feet, and may employ my hands and feet in thy service." Nanak, on hearing this, said to him over and over again, "Do thou now go to thy home, and afterwards come back again." But he would not agree to go from there. All his relations, who were with him, seeing this his state, became much distressed, but, at last being helpless, they went away to their own homes. When Lahina, having remained there, with his whole body and soul, commenced to work and labour for Nanak, then there sprang up much affection between them, for he (Lahina) began to regard Nanak as equal to God, and all the other Sikhs began to speak highly of his labour and toil. Siri Chand and Lakhmi Das also, who were the sons of Baba Nanak, could not perform as much service as Lahina commenced to do. To write here in full an account of this his obedience would be unprofitable ; but I will narrate somewhat of it. One day,

Baba Nanak and his two sons and Lahina were going somewhere, when a metal cup fell from the hand of Nanak into some thick mud, which was very deep. Nanak said to Siri Chand, "Son ! pull out the cup." He replied, "O father, my clothes are very beautiful and will get besmeared with mud ; come, let us go on, and I will send back some labourer to get it out." Again, Nanak addressed Lakhmi Das to the same effect, on which he gave that same reply. Then, when he looked towards that Sikh Lahina, he, joining his hands, asked, "O holy Guru, what are your commands?" Nanak replied, "Dig out that metal cup." He, immediately on hearing it, jumped in with his clothes on, and, having dug out the metal cup from the mud, made it over to the Guru, and from that very day he grew very dear to Baba Nanak. Again, another time, when a great crowd had assembled around Nanak, then he, becoming agitated, wished to separate himself from them ; at that time, making himself naked from his body to his head,¹⁷ he rubbed ashes over himself, and, assuming a very hideous disguise, began to eat (carion) with the dogs ; on this, all the people, calling him mad and a vile creature, ran away ; but Lahina alone still remained with him. Nanak too, also, tried greatly to drive him away, but he would not leave him. Moreover, seeing a dead body lying in a certain place, Nanak, to prove his sincerity, said, "O brother Lahina ! if thou wishest to remain with me, then eat that dead body." When he, at once, on hearing this order, ran towards the corpse, then Nanak, knowing him to be a true lover of himself, kissed his head, and said, "O dear one ! thy name is Lahina (to take), and I know that thou must take something from me also." In this way, he never turned away from any command of Nanak, but, day by day, his increasing love waxed greater.

One day Mata Choni asked Nanak, "Why do you show greater love to Lahina than to Siri Chand and Lakhmi Das" ? Then he replied, "Lahina, although he is another man's son, still never disobeys my orders ; but by these, who are called my sons, my orders are never obeyed ; accordingly I love him, who studies me with all his body and soul." One day, Nanak pressed him to his breast before a whole assembly, and, placing five pice and a cocoanut before him, first himself bent his head in obeisance to him, and then said to all the assembly, "O brother Sikhs ! from to-day I have given the

¹⁷ i.e. taking off his dhoti or waist cloth.

Guruship to him ; whoever is a Sikh (disciple) of mine, let him, regarding him as Guru, bend his head in obedience to him. He is a truly holy man. Now there will be no change in this ; God has made him His own, and he will accomplish the business (desire) of many." He said this also, "Before, his name was Lahina, but now as I have pressed him to my body and bestowed on him the power of the adoration of God, therefore his name is called Guru Angad."¹⁸ Then the disciples petitioned : "O Guru ! agreeably to your orders, we will regard him as our Guru, but what shall we regard them as, who are your sons ?" Then Nanak replied, "God himself will take care of them ; it is no concern of yours ; do you place the worship and offerings of the Guru before him, who has brought himself into the way of God with all his body and soul." On hearing this, all the assembly bowed to Guru Angad, and whatever orders he used to give, those they used to place on their heads (i.e., to obey) ; and Angad also followed all the advice he had received from Baba Nanak, and kept straight the road of religion. After Angad had remained there some time, then he came and lived at Kahirian de Khadur, and used to earn the means and necessities for his food and clothes by making rope. When all the Sikhs heard that Baba Nanak had seated Angad on the seat of the Guru, then they all began to come to him ; moreover that Bhai Bala also, who had remained with Nanak from old, came to get a sight of him, and Angad heard from him all the particulars about Nanak from his birth up ; and this Bala, after a few days, died there. Whatever exhortations Nanak used to make in the name of the Wah Guru (God), these Angad also continued to make. The interpretation of this name, Wah Guru, (which is the chief incantation in the Sikh religion), is said to be this ; In the incantation, Wah Guru, are these four letters, w, h, g, r ; of these the w, refers to Wasdeo, the h, to Hari, and the third, which is g, to Gobind, and the r to Ram, and this is the adoration of the incarnations of the four Yogs.¹⁹ And some people give another meaning, that Wah is a word of praise, and Guru is the name Gurdeo, therefore, from this the Guru is praised ; and others say, a great person is called Guru, and as God

¹⁸ These two words mean "Teacher body" the title "Guru," being given him in reference to his having bestowed on him the power of teaching others the way to God, and "body" in reference to his having been pressed to Nanak's body (ang).

¹⁹ Yog or period, viz., golden, silver, brass, and iron ; the present is the Kalyog or iron age.

is greater than all, from this name Wah Guru, the Supreme Being is praised.²⁰ Although the Sikhs made many offerings to Baba Angad, still he never spent any of them on himself, but, expending them all in the Name of God, got his own livelihood entirely by rope making. And these Guru-mukhi letters also, which are known throughout the Panjab, he arranged and altered from the letters of the Sastras; the thirty-five devotional songs²¹ also, which the Sikhs read, were all compiled by him. He did not compose anything else besides, but he converted many people; and those also, who were sinners, from associating with him, eschewed their sins, and obtained inward peace and the (blessing of the) Name of God. Then, having placed before the third king, i.e., Guru Amardas, five pice and a cocoanut, and, having bent his head in homage, he gave him the seat of Guruship and himself left this body (died) in the year 1609 B.B., i.e. the year 1552 A.D.

Couplet

Whom shall one regard as an enemy, and with whom
make friendship ?

All the world is like a dream, and an ever shifting play.

²⁰ This last is, I believe, nearest the truth, as set forth by Baba Nanak.

²¹ Each of these begin with one of the thirty-five letters of the Alphabet vide Trumpp's Adi-Granth, page 602.

CHAPTER III

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU AMARDAS

Guru Amardas, who is known as the third king, was a Bhala Khatri, of a village Wasarki, which is in the district of Anmritsar, and, from his very childhood, he was of so good a disposition that, wherever a religious assembly was collected, there he used to go and, to the best of his power, perform the service of the good and holy with much affection. Although his father and mother, on seeing this his state, used even to be somewhat angry in their hearts, still he, according to his good disposition, never withdrew from the service of the holy. Once, Amardas went to Harduar to bathe in the holy Ganges, and when he arrived there, it so happened that a thirsty Pandat drank water from his hands. When his thirst had abated, the Pandat asked him, "Who mayst thou be, and whence hast thou come?" He replied, "O your Highness, I am a Bhala Khatri, and have come from a village named Wasarki in the country of the Panjab." Again the Pandat asked, "Who is thy Guru?" He replied, "O holy Sir, at present I have not adopted any Guru." On hearing this, the Pandat was greatly distressed, and, calling out, said, "Alas! a great misfortune has befallen me, that I have drunk water at the hands of this person, who has no Guru. Alas! I am a great sinner that, at the time of my thirst, (I did not consider); how will this my sin be forgiven?" Amardas, on hearing this, became very much ashamed in his heart; moreover, falling at the feet of that Pandat, he petitioned: "If your Highness will now forgive my fault, then I, immediately on going home, will adopt a Guru." When Amardas came home, he began to make search for a Guru. One day, he heard from some one that, close to there, in Kahirian de Khadur, Baba Angad, a perfect Guru, was living, and whoever took his advice obtained salvation, and those good qualities, which became a Guru, viz., patience, contentment, forbearance, clemency, devotion &c., were all to be found in him. Immediately on hearing this, he went to Khadur, and, seizing the feet of Guru Angad, said, "O holy Sir, I, having heard your name, have come to you to obtain salvation; do you have compassion on me, and give me instruction; nowhere do I see such a perfect Guru as you; all people wish to make disciples to do them service, but I have

not heard of any Guru but yourself, who bestows salvation on his disciples." Baba Angad, on seeing his devotion, was much pleased, and giving him advice in the name of the Wah Guru, said, "O brother Sikh! you must repeat this name with every breath with a true heart; and in the morning, having bathed, you must meditate on the Name of God." He further said, "This body is a cage of bones and flesh, and in a very few days it will be broken and shattered to pieces; that, indeed, is a moment of profit when, with this body, one can become of service to any holy, good, hungry, or thirsty person. Do thou eschew the vain thoughts of thy mind, and always remain engaged in the worship of thy Lord, and be contented with His will; this is the sum total of my instruction and advice." Amardas, with all his body and soul, adopted this advice, and, from that day, began to act agreeably to it, and did not again return and go to his home, but began to live there, regarding the sight of his Guru and the service of his disciples, as true gain. In short, he accepted the service of the Guru with all his heart and soul, but he would not eat any thing, not even bread, from the Guru's cooking square. This was his custom, that he used to carry about a bundle of salt and go to people's houses and sell it, and whatever he obtained from this, with it he used to pay for the expenses of his food and clothing, and never tasted a single grain from the Guru, for he thought thus: "It behoves me with my body and soul and wealth to do service to my Guru; therefore it is not becoming for me to get my food from him." And this was the manner of his service; that he used always to go from Khadur to the river near Gobindwal, which was two kos from there, to bring large brass pots of water for his Guru to bathe him; and there was this great hardship in it, that, when he used to go from Khadur to fill the pots, he went backwards to the river near Gobindwal; when he had filled it, (he returned) looking to his front, for he thought that he must never turn his back towards his Guru. Again, all who were celebrated holy disciples there, for all of them also he used to fill and bring water; and whether any one asked for it in the day or night, still he would go to the river and bring it, and he never turned away his face from the command of his Guru and the holy. This is the occurrence of one day; that when Amardas was bringing water at night, on the road he stumbled into a weaver's hole²²

²² Khaddi is the hole in the ground in which a weaver puts his feet when sitting at the loom.

and fell. When the weaver asked, "Who is there"? then the weaver's wife, who always saw him fetching water, gave reply, "Who else can have fallen in at this time? It must be the stricken-by-calamity, and he who has no home, Amru.²³ Amardas, getting up, again went to the river, and in that same way, having drawn water, came to the Guru. When the Guru heard from some one, that people said that he was homeless, then, having seen his sincerity and devotion, he embraced him and said, "O people! Amru is not homeless, but, from to-day, the Supreme Being has made him the home of the homeless, and the help of the helpless; whoever becomes attached to him will attain great happiness;" and that very day he placed before him five pice and a cocoanut, and bent his head in obeisance to him, and said to all assembled: "To-day I have made over to Guru Amardas the throne of the Guruship; let all people do obeisance to him, for he is a perfect Guru; to-day the Supreme Being has taken him for His own; then whoever follows him, will please the great Lord." After the death of Guru Angad, the whole body of followers obeyed Guru Amardas, and he also converted many people, and kept straight the road of religion. This Guru Amardas was a very good holy man; they say that no one ever saw him angry in his whole life-time; he was of a very cool-tempered disposition, the beloved of God, and merciful, and he never brought his heart to do any base action, but always remained employed in good works and religion, and always continued firm in that road, which Guru Angad had pointed out to him. They narrate this story of his forbearance; that when, after the death of Angad, Amardas came and lived in Gobindwal, the Musalmans, who bore enmity towards him, began to afflict him much, still he never took any notice, but made this request to God: "O Lord, do thou direct their hearts." One day, when his disciples, having filled some pots with water, were bringing it for him to cook with, then a lot of Musalman boys, shooting at them with pellet bows, broke the pots to pieces. His disciples came and said: "O Guru! the Turks are always breaking our pots, what remedy shall we apply for this?" The Guru, with much forbearance, gave reply, "From to-day, do you bring water in water bags, for they cannot be broken with pellet bows." The Sikhs acted accordingly, but the Musalmans did not alter their behaviour. When the Sikhs

²³ Amru is the short for Amardas.

began to bring water in bags, they split the bags with arrows. The Sikhs again pointed this out to the Guru; and the Guru again answered, "O brother Sikhs! do you bring the water in brass pots." The Sikhs acted agreeably to this word, but again the Musalmans, throwing bricks, began to smash the pots. In short, although the Musalmans harassed Baba Amardas and his disciples much, still he never used any harsh words toward them, but in his heart prayed for their welfare, for he considered all grief and happiness as coming from God. When his disciples addressed him saying, "O Guru! how long shall we bear the tyranny of the Musalmans?" then he answered, "Bear them all your life, for to take revenge is not the religion of the good; moreover, remember that there is no penance equal to patience, and there is no happiness equal to forbearance, and no sin greater than covetousness, and no duty greater than mercy, and no weapon better than clemency." On hearing this, all his disciples became quiet. Amardas also was not very learned or literate, but was entirely taken up with the worship of the Supreme God. The Anand Bani (the song of joy), which is written in the Granth, and which all good disciples, committing to memory, continually sing, was composed by him, but except it he composed no other song. The very large baoli,²⁴ which is in Gobindwal, was built by him; they say, whoever sits on every one of its eighty-four steps and bathes at them, and shall, at each step, repeat in full the Japji Sahib, he will be freed from passing through the births and deaths of the eighty-four lakhs of living things²⁵ and will go to heaven.

At that baoli, every year, a large fair takes place, and many people recite the Japji Sahib in full in that way at its steps. Amardas, having bestowed salvation on many people, at last, in the year 1631 B.B., i.e. the year 1574 A.D., reached his full age, and after him Guru Ram Das began to perform the business of Guruship.

Verses

One stretches one's feet for two days in this world,
And at last departs silently; this world is altogether false.

²⁴ A baoli is a very large well with steps leading down to it.

²⁵ The total number of living spirits is said to be 84,00,000.

CHAPTER IV

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU RAM DAS

Ram Das was a Sodhi²⁶ Khatri, an inhabitant of the village called Guruchakk, and in his very early years came to Gobindwal, and lived in the house of his mother's family. The members of his mother's family were very poor, and he used always to sell ghunggani,²⁷ and thus got the means for their and his own livelihood. This is the occurrence of one day; he was seated near the door of Baba Amardas' house selling ghunggani, when suddenly Baba Amardas called his priest and said, "O holy Sir! my daughter is now grown up; do you go and search for a good family and a husband for her, and pray get her betrothed." When the priest was about to set forth, then the wife of the Guru said, "That boy, who sells ghunggani, is a lad of equal age with her; do you get him for my daughter, for my daughter is the same age." At that time Guru Amardas said to himself, "Now my daughter has become (the wife) of this young lad, for it is the religion of the Khatri that the purpose, which first comes into the heart, that you ought to accomplish." Having thus reflected, he called that lad and asked him, "O dear boy! who mayst thou be?" He replied, "I am a Sodhi Khatri." Amardas, on hearing this, thanked the Supreme Being, saying, "Praised art Thou, O Lord! that Thou hast had respect for my vow, for if this lad had not been a Khatri, then my companions would have reproached me much for giving my daughter to him." Immediately, he placed the betrothal gifts in the lap of that lad, and after a few days, having married her, Ram Das took that girl to his own home in Guruchakk. One occasion, that girl, together with her husband, Ram Das, came to her father; and as all the other disciples and attendants were doing service to the Guru, she also, regarding him as the true Guru, began to perform his service and do attendance. One day it thus happened that, as her father was seated on a square wooden stool bathing, and this girl was pouring water over his body, a nail in the stool ran into

²⁶ See note 3.

²⁷ Ghunggani is grain of any kind boiled whole, and then dipped in salt, pepper, oil, and other seasonings.

her foot; but she, thinking that if she lifted her foot, her father, seeing the blood, would forego bathing, did not lift her foot off the nail. When the blood reached down to below the stool, then the Guru said, "Daughter, whence has the blood come?" The daughter, who did not think it right to tell an untruth, on her father enquiring several times, told him the whole truth. Guru Amardas, on hearing it, embraced his daughter, and said, "I have got nothing else with me at this time, but go, from to-day I have bestowed on you the badge of Guruship." The daughter, joining her hands, petitioned, "O true Guru, O my father! do you give this badge to my husband." The Guru, there and then, before all the disciples, placed the five pice and a cocoanut before her husband, Ram Das, and, making obeisance to him, said: "To-day I bestow the badge of Guruship on Ram Das; let those who are my disciples, look on him as their Guru." Then, having given Ram Das advice in the name of the Wah Guru, he taught him all the rites and customs, and by his kindness set him on the road of religion. After the death of Amardas, Guru Ram Das began to live at his home in Guruchakk, and all the Sikhs used to come there, and all the assembly looked on Guruchakk as the abode of the Guru. This Ram Das became a good holy man, and, having obtained the greatness of Guruship, still even did not become proud. His disposition was very gentle, and he used always, agreeably to the custom of Baba Nanak, to place his thoughts on the Supreme Being. Once, in a certain place, he met with Guru Siri Chand, who was the son of Baba Nanak; and Siri Chand, seeing that his beard was very long, asked, "O Ram Das! why have you let your beard grow so long?" Ram Das gave reply, "I have let it grow, to wipe off the dust of your feet with." On hearing this, Siri Chand said, "Brother! you people, having spoken such words of love and devotion, have obtained the badge of Guruship, and we, who are sons, by reason of pride, have been deprived of it."

In short Guru Ram Das was a very good person, and having obtained greatness, did not become proud. This very Baba Ram Das, having discovered an old tank in Guruchakk, called its name Anmritsar, and in the centre built a place of chanting, and called its name Harmandirji (Temple of God); then, on account of that tank, the name of Guruchakk was changed to Siri Anmritsar.

This Guru Ram Das also composed many songs; then,

having given over the Guruship to his own son Arjan, he marched from the world in the year 1638 B.B. the year 1571 A.D.

Couplet

This world is a dream of the night, which, immediately
on your seeing it, passes away ;

Good and bad,—all will go,—none will escape.

CHAPTER V

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU ARJAN

Arjan, from his childhood, always obeyed the commands of his father, and fixed his thoughts on the worship of the Supreme Being. Seeing his goodness, his father bestowed on him the Guruship, according to former rites, before all his disciples, and publicly gave him the name of Guru Arjan Sahib. When Arjan, after his father, began to direct the road of religion, then great assemblies began to collect. One day, all the disciples petitioned, saying, "O Guru! from hearing the songs that Guru Nanak used to sing, one's heart obtains quiet, and the desire of worship is increased; but other Sodhi²⁸ (Gurus) have also composed many songs and verses, to which they have appended the name of Baba Nanak; and from reading them, in a man's heart, a haughty spirit and intellectual pride²⁹ are created; for this reason, it behoves that some mark should be attached to the songs of Baba Nanak, that people may be able to distinguish them from the verses of others." On hearing this, Guru Arjan collected from various places the verses of Baba Nanak, and those of the other Gurus (Angad, &c.,) who lived after Nanak, and other devotees also, which were not opposed to the songs of Baba Nanak. These he collected together and gave to the scribe Bhai Gurdas to write, so that he might transcribe them all together in the Gurmukhi character; and for this reason, that Angad and the other Gurus also had placed the name of Nanak to their verses, he, therefore, thought it would be difficult for his disciples to separate the verses of Nanak; he accordingly put this distinguishing mark to those verses which were Nanak's, viz., "Mahala pahila, or first Mahala (or Guru)"; and those songs that were sung by the second Guru, those he called, "The second Mahala;" and in this way calling them "The third Mahala" and "The fourth Mahala" he separated all the songs of the Gurus; and those songs which he himself also had composed, although these also were called by Baba Nanak's name, he designated "The fifth Mahala," and separated them from the rest. And the verses of Kabir and Ramanand and Dhana Bhagat and Nam Deo and Raidas,

²⁸ This is the title of the Guru who resides at Kartarpur.

²⁹ Instead of humility and a low opinion of one's self.

&c., which he wrote in it, to them he affixed the names of those several devotees, but he did not write in it the verses of those people who composed verses after the Vaidant religion and other creeds, which were opposed to their worship. In this way, he collected all their songs and made a big book ; and when that book was ready, its name was called the "Granth Sahib," and he proclaimed to all the Sikhs (disciples), "O brother Sikhs ! behold, whatever is in this book is fit for you to obey, and whatever songs are not in it, although any one may give them out in the name of Nanak, still it behoves you not to accept them." Moreover, he left a few pages blank in it and said, "The verses of the ninth Guru, who shall hereafter succeed me, shall be written in these pages, and the songs of no Guru, except him (the 9th Guru), shall be entered." A son was born in the house of the Guru Arjan, and his name was called Hargovind. When the child grew up, then a barber and a Brahman came and betrothed him to a daughter of Chandu Shah, who was a servant of the Kings of Delhi. When Chandu Shah heard from people that he, to whom his daughter was betrothed, was of the character of fakirs, and subsisted on offerings, then, becoming very angry with the Brahman and the barber, he turned them out of his house.³⁰ When Arjan heard this, that the barber and the Brahman had suffered punishment on his account, then he wrote thus to Chandu Shah. "We have dissolved the betrothal of your daughter, do you betroth her in some other place ; we will not accept this betrothal." Chandu Shah was much disgraced in the eyes of people, on account of the dissolution of his daughter's betrothal, and from that day became very hostile to Guru Arjan. Having brought false accusations before the King, he had Guru Arjan summoned several times to Lahaur, and inflicted on him much serious annoyance ; but Guru Arjan always looked on those afflictions as the decree of God, and never became depressed ; and thinking thus, "If such be the will of the Supreme Being towards me (so let it be)," he always remained happy. One day, that sinner instructed the King thus, "Do you call that fakir, who is an unbeliever in the (Shara) Muhammadan law, and, tying him in a raw hide, which is an abomination to Hindus, burn him." When the hide was brought before the Guru, then the Guru said, "Having bathed in the Ravi, I will be ready to die, but I cannot agree to die without bathing ;

³⁰ i.e., out of his family employment.

afterwards you may do whatever you like." The king, on hearing this his speech of helplessness, cooled down a little, and commanded, "Let him bathe." On this, Arjan took a leap into the Ravi, and disappeared in it; people searched much for his corpse, still it did not come to hand. When he had thus given up this life, then it became reported among the people that the Guru had drowned himself in the Ravi because he was to be burned in a raw hide. He had, prior to this, bestowed the seat of Guruship on his young son, Hargovind, who was very obedient, and a worshipper of the Supreme Being. Afterwards, on account of the enmity of Chandu Shah, he departed this life in the Ravi near Lahaur in the year 1663 B.B., i.e., the year 1606 A.D. .

Couplet

Be one great, very holy, good, respectable, rich or poor.

Death overcomes all; therefore preserve the worship of
God in your mind.

CHAPTER VI

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU HARGOVIND

He, from his very childhood, always obeyed the command of his father, and remained doing service and homage to him. Lalla Pirthi Mal, who was his uncle, from the desire of getting the seat of Guruship, used to bear much hatred towards him in his inmost heart. One day Guru Arjan said to Pirthi Mal, "O brother ! for about six months I have business ; do thou go and remain in Lahaur." Pirthi Mal, thinking that perhaps, after he went, the seat of Guruship might be given to Hargovind, did not agree to go to Lahaur. He (Arjan) then said to Hargovind, "Son ! do thou go and remain about six months in Lahaur." He replied, "Sir ! very well"; and, having made his obeisance, went to Lahaur. When he had passed six months there, then he thus wrote to his father. "If it be your command, then I will come and see you." When that letter arrived in Anmritsar, then Pirthi Mal did not allow it to reach the Guru, but, having read it, kept it himself. In this way, he wrote and sent five other letters, but Pirthi Mal did not show them to his father ; then, writing a seventh letter with much affection, he sent it, and in it wrote thus, "O father ! what disobedience have I committed, that you do not call me to see you, or send an answer to my letters ; as I greatly desire to see you, do you have compassion on me and call me." Those verses which were written in that letter are called "the Hajare Sabd." That letter, by some means, reached his father's hands. When his father had read the affectionate words, and had discovered that, before this, six of his letters had not reached him, then he asked Pirthi Mal what was the reason of this. At first he denied much (knowing anything about it), but afterwards he admitted, "O Guru ! I did not let the letters reach you." The Guru, taking the letters, called Hargovind from Lahaur, and although Pirthi Mal expostulated and said much, still he bestowed the seat of Guruship, before all the people, according to former rites, on Hargovind. When all the assemblage had made their obeisance to Hargovind, then Pirthi Mal became very envious. One day he devised this plan, viz., he would go to Chandu Shah, who was his father's enemy, and make him very angry with him (Hargovind), in the hope

that he, having killed him, would take and bestow the seat on himself. Having thus devised, he went to Delhi and thus said to Chandu Shah, "Hargovind, the son of Guru Arjan, intends bringing an army of his Sikh followers and attacking you, and desires to take his father's revenge; whatever you can do, devise at once, for, afterwards, you will not be able to do anything." Chandu Shah, on hearing this, became bitter in his heart, and from that day began to devise plans for seizing him. One day, he said to the astrologers, "Do you cause doubt to arise in the king's mind, and say to him, 'There is some danger to thee, and these days are heavy for thee'⁸¹; if Guru Hargovind, who is of the sect of Nanak, shall come and perform some homage to thee, thou shalt obtain ease." The Pandats went and said thus to the king, "For a month and a quarter, it will be anxious times for thee, but if Guru Hargovind shall come, then all thy troubles shall be removed." The king, having sent and called the Guru from Anmritsar, said to him, "Do you sit for forty days in the prison house, and offer up prayers for me." The Guru, on hearing this, was much distressed, but afterwards, regarding it as the decree of the Creator, went with three Sikhs, and remained in the prison house. Some people also say thus, that he was sent to the fort of Gualiar to offer prayers (for the king), and whatever cash and food, and clothes the king used to send, these he used to distribute to the prisoners; and whatever the three Sikhs used to bring from their labours in the city, that they used to eat. When the forty days had passed, then a Sikh, named Bidhi Chand, who used to remain with Guru Hargovind, assuming the disguise of a physician, obtained an interview with the king, and said, "That Hargovind, whom you called from the Panjab, and kept like a prisoner in the jail for the sake of your obtaining ease, he is a very good and holy man, and the beloved of the Supreme Being; quickly give him his discharge; those people, who delivered him over to you, are his enemies." The king, believing what he said, forthwith called Guru Hargovind, and petitioned, saying, "A great fault has been committed by me; do you forgive me, O fakir!" Hargovind said to the king, "May God forgive you." Hargovind had by him a large, most valuable pearl; this he presented as an offering to the king. When the king saw its splendour and lustre, he was greatly pleased, and said, "O holy sir! if another like this could be found,

⁸¹ i.e., it is an anxious time for thee.

then it would be a very good thing." The Guru said, "There was a very valuable rosary with one hundred and eight similar pearls in it, which my father, Guru Arjan, used to wear round his neck, and it is now in the possession of your minister, Chandu Shah; you can take as many pearls from it as you please." The king, on hearing this, was astonished, and asked, "How did Chandu Shah take them from your father?" The Guru, his eyes being filled with the water (of his tears), and heaving a deep sigh, related all that had occurred from the day of the breaking off of the betrothal, to the time that Chandu Shah gave affliction to Guru Arjan in Lahaur, and added, "When my father, being afflicted at his hands, died in Lahaur, then he took the whole necklace off his neck." The king, on hearing this, became very angry, and said, "Alas! alas! my minister has committed great injustice towards these fakirs." When he began to ask other people also for confirmation of this speech, then they all said that the information was true, and some added this also, "That, on the present occasion also, when he (Hargovind) was called from the Panjab, and made over to you on some pretence, this also, he (Chandu Shah) did from his old enmity." The King, on hearing this, became still more angry; moreover, there and then, sending for Chandu Shah, he made him over to the Guru, saying: "Take him, he is your prisoner; take whatever revenge you wish, and if you can get your necklace too, which is in his possession, take it also from him."

Guru Hargovind, taking Chandu Shah with him, set out from Dilli, and, when he arrived at Anmritsar, he then began to give him punishment. In short, they used to put ropes round his feet, and drag him daily round the bazaars of Anmritsar and Lahaur; and in the same way as he used to make Guru Arjan sit on hot iron girdles and hot sand, and give him affliction, so also did Hargovind afflict him (Chandu Shah). At last, one day, he died as he was being dragged about the bazaars. After this, many other Musalmans formed hatred to Guru Hargovind, and he, being always sneered at by every one, used to wander about quarrelling and fighting with them.

This very Hargovind founded Siri Hargovindpur, which is situated on the banks of the river Wiasa³²; in short, at the time of founding it also, the Guru had a great fight with

a certain Pathan, but at last the Guru, getting the victory over him, laid the foundation of that city. He always remained engaged in quarrels, and never composed any songs. He remained very firm in the business of the Guruship, and, if any Sikhs came to him, he used to give them advice, and direct them on the road of religion; he gave purification (from their sins) to the people of many places; accordingly his followers and disciples lived in Gualiar, and Agra, and Oojain, and Gujrat, and in Bangal also. It appears from many of his words, that he himself visited other countries also. It is said that, in Kartarpur also, he had a great fight with a Pathan. The circumstances of that fight are thus; a Pathan, named Painde Khan, used to live in the tent of the Guru. One day, a certain Sikh brought and placed a sword, a hawk, and some very handsome clothes, as an offering, before the Guru; as Painde Khan was seated near him at the time, the Guru gave all those things to him, and said, "When you come to me, do you come, having adorned yourself with these things." Then he, taking these things, went to his house, and gave all those articles to his son-in-law. The Guru, on receiving this information, asked him, "Why have you given all these things to some one else?" He denied it before the Guru, saying "I have them all, and have given them to no one." The Guru forthwith sent a Sikh, and had all these things brought from the house of his son-in-law, and said to him, "O Painde Khan! you have told an untruth before the Guru; now you are not fit to remain here." On hearing this, the Sikhs gave him a push, and, beating him well, turned him outside. Painde Khan went to Lahaur, and made a complaint of his having been beaten, and bringing some of the king's army with him, came and blockaded him in Kartarpur. As, at that time, there was a large assembly with the Guru also, they commenced to fight with the king's army, and many brave men of both sides were killed there; but, at last, Guru Hargovind, having killed Painde Khan, obtained the victory in battle. Again, in the same way, once, at Lahaur, there was a fight with the Guru, because he seized some of the king's horses in Lahaur. In short, the Guru, in his life-time, obtained little repose from fighting and quarrels; at last, leaving his own home, he came and stopped with his son, named Gurditta, who lived in Kiratpur, in the house of Baba Budha, and, after some time, gave the badge of Guruship to his grandson Harrai, and then in the year 1695, i.e., the year 1638 A.D., he there left this body.

Verses

Many persons have come into this world, and sounded
their drums ;³³

All the world is a full boat, no one has been able to
stop in it.³⁴

³³ Or royalty, i.e., have been kings.

³⁴ That is to say, it is like a boat which, when filled, crosses over, and the passengers all disembark ; people come into this world and live their day, and then depart out of it.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU HARRAI

Guru Hargovind had five sons; the name of the first was Gurditta, whom people now call Baba Gurditta, and the name of the second was Atall, who is now known as Baba Atall; the name of the third was Teg Bahadur, who is reckoned as the ninth Guru; the name of the fourth was Ani Rai; and the name of the fifth Surat Mal. Four of these used always to live for their own comfort and pleasure, but the fifth, Teg Bahadur, from his very childhood even, was fascinated with the worship of God, and used to take no thought for the ease or comfort of his own body. When the four grew up, they always had this thought in their hearts, "Will my father give the seat of Guruship to me?" Moreover, the four were not able to look at each other by reason of the desire for that seat. Guru Hargovind also used continually to reflect "To whom shall I give the Guruship?" ; for the four appeared to the Guru to be very greedy and covetous for it. All the Sikhs also, seated together, used to reflect in their hearts, "Teg Bahadur, who is the rightful possessor and worthy of the Guruship, always sits quietly apart like a madman, and has no care for any thing; and the other four sons of the Guru remain fighting with each other; let us see whom the Guru will seat on the throne of the Guruship." This is what occurred one day. Guru Hargovind was stopping at Kiratpur, which is near Anandpur; his other sons and a number of people were also assembled there. In the meanwhile, Harrai, the son of Baba Gurditta, who was then merely a child, playing, came and sat on the lap of the Guru Hargovind; on this the Guru, regarding him as his grandson, began to caress him; then Harrai, taking off Hargovind's pagri, put it on his own head. As the Guru, who was not well pleased with his sons, used always to be thinking of the bestowal of the seat, he, on seeing this, was very much delighted, and said to himself: "This is a very good opportunity which has come to hand; well, I will give the seat to this child, and it is a very good thing for this reason also, that the mouths of the brothers will be closed; if I had given the seat to one, then the four brothers would have been enemies with that one, and, fighting together, would have

killed ; but now God has shown great kindness, in that He has put an end to all quarrels, and has devised another better way." Thinking thus, the Guru, in the presence of the assembly, placing a cocoanut shell and five pice (before him), made obeisance to Harrai, and said, "O Bhai Sikhs ! as God Himself has placed the pagri of my Guruship on this child's head, therefore no one can raise any objection ; those, who are my disciples, will all regard Harrai as Guru, for he will be a very perfect saint." The assembly, hearing this, were very pleased, because the Guru had effaced all quarrels, and they all made obeisance before Guru Harrai ; and the four brothers also, who, for the sake of getting the Guruship, bore enmity to each other, seeing this decree, were silenced, and no one had sufficient power to take away the Guruship from Harrai. This Guru Harrai was very clever, and always directed the road of religion well ; this was one very good characteristic of his, that, according as he saw a man's understanding, so he gave him advice. One day, a very foolish Sikh came to him, and the Guru, they say, thus brought him to the (road of) religion, viz., he said to him, "O Bhai Sikh ! man cannot be born again, therefore, to the best of thy power, worship God and do service to the holy." He replied, "O Guru ! I am a man with a family, and obtain not repose from cherishing them, so that I might come for a time to serve God, and do service to the holy. My only thought is how to provide for them ; if I should employ myself in worship, they would all die of hunger ; for I am the only one in the house, who can earn anything." On hearing this, the Guru said, "O simple one ! without God we cannot provide for any one ; thou, in thy folly, regardest their provision as pertaining to thyself, but if thou were not, then He would appoint some one else to provide for them ; God has created, along with every one, the means of their existence. Behold ! birds neither sow nor reap grain, but God never allows them to remain hungry." That Sikh replied, "This speech is very true, but my children are very young, and, except myself, no one can keep them alive ; when, having worked all day, I bring home something, then they eat it ; their love to me, too, is very great, and if I were hidden from them for a while³⁵, they would be agitated and die." The Guru said, "This also is your way of thinking ; but if you considered justly, then you would know that without any one even (to look after them), one does not die ; every one lives his

³⁵ Lit. A ghari or 24 minutes.

appointed life." When that Sikh then even did not believe, then the Guru, giving him a letter, said, "Do you go and give this my letter to a certain Sikh in a certain village." He went to that village, and gave that letter; when that Sikh had read the Guru's letter, then this was what was written in it. "Do you shut and lock up the bearer of this letter in a house, and whatever he requires, give it him within (the house), and until we write and send to you, till then, allow him not to come out." In that place, it became the lot of his family that when people knew that their man (head of the house) had disappeared somewhere, each of the neighbours sent a plate of flour to the house, and when that flour was finished, they gave more in the same way. Again people, taking pity, brought and gave his young children something to do, and made over some work to his wife also; in this way, their means increased beyond what it was before, and, for some days remembering their man (father), they afterwards forgot him. After some months, the Guru sent and let the Sikh out of the house, and said, "Go, Bhai Sikh, and see your family now." At first he said, "O Guru! she, together with all my children, on account of separation from me, will be dead; whom shall I go and see?" but afterwards, he went to his village. On going to his house, he beheld, that their state was even better than formerly, and all his young children were happy, well, and comfortable, and had no thought for him; on seeing them so happy in every respect, he became aware of his folly, and repented saying; "Alas! I used to regard their care, as depending on myself, but this was a great error of mine; now it has become clearly shown to me, that what the Guru said to me was true; God is the giver of all (things) and no one need have any thought for any but Him." There and then, leaving them all, he came to the Guru and said, "O Guru! you said the truth; in the world, God is the provider of all; I have now left them all, and will do the service of the holy." The Guru, having pointed out to him the manner of worship, again sent him to his home, and said, "Go, Bhai! there is nothing wrong in living in your home, but it was very wrong of you to think that their provision lay with you." Guru Harrai always lived at Kiratpur with his father Baba Guruditta, and his father died there also, and his tomb at Kiratpur is a very great shrine. Gurditta's brother Atall, died in Anmritsar and his place of rest also, which is known as the tomb of Baba Atall, is a very large and lofty erection in Anmritsar, and many oblations are offered there, but of all

things, bread is the most offered. The following saying of that place is well known in the Panjab, and people repeat it in every place, "O Baba Atall, give me well-cooked bread."³⁶ The resting places of Ani Rai, and Surat Mal, are not so celebrated. At last Guru Harrai, having given this seat to his young son, Har Kisan, himself in the year 1717 B.B. i.e. 1660 A.D., left this body in Kiratpur.

Verses

All the gardens are orchards, which are in this world,
Are profitable to the gardeners for two days ; afterwards they
dry up.³⁷

³⁶ This is a very common proverb in the Panjab. When a person arrives off a journey, if his host say to him, "Cook yourself some food," the usual reply is "Baba Atall pakkian pakkiaian ghall" or "give me O Baba Atall (i.e. for Baba Atall's sake) some ready cooked food." Large quantities of cooked bread are daily offered at this shrine in Amritsar, and distributed to the poor.

³⁷ i.e. life lasts but a short time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU HAR KISAN

Guru Harrai had two sons ; the name of the elder was Ram Rai, and the name of the younger Har Kisan. This younger son was a very wise and religious person, and he, commencing from his childhood, never disobeyed any order of his father, but, with his body and soul, performed service to his father, and used to occupy himself looking after the holy ; and although the other, Ram Rai, used to occupy himself much in the service of God, still his father, seeing certain qualities in him, used to be displeased with him ; for Ram Rai used to give himself out to people as a Sidh and Auliya³⁸ ; and, in every place, this was commonly reported amongst the people, that Ram Rai was a worker of miracles. He, in the pride of his intellect, used to hold his assemblies separate from the Guru's, and entertained this proud thought, "I am very clever, and expert in making disciples and followers, therefore my father will give me the Guruship;" but the Guru, having heard of his miracles and shrewdness, used not to be pleased at heart. This is the occurrence of one time ; Ram Rai had then gone to his disciples in the country of the Mian Duab, and the Guru, seeing the devotion and meekness of Har Kisan, before the whole assembly, according to former rites, gave him the Guruship, and said to all the Sikhs ; "Although Ram Rai, my eldest son, is very clever, and the rightful possessor of the Guruship, still I will give the badge of Guruship to my younger son, who is a true devotee and very obedient ; from to-day, his name is Guru Har Kisan ; let those, who are my disciples, do obeisance to him." When Ram Rai heard that the badge of Guruship, after he left, had been bestowed on Har Kisan, then he became very sad at heart. In short, at that time, Ram Rai said before the disciples ; "At present Har Kisan is very young and has not yet suffered from small-pox ; if he shall escape from small-pox, then he shall obtain the Guruship." Guru Har Kisan, in his early years even, used to give advice to his disciples. This is what occurred one day ; the King of Dilli asked his attendants, "Of those, who were formerly called the fakirs of

³⁸ A Sidh is a Hindu, and an Auliya, a Muhammadan, saint.

Baba Nanak, who is now the chief?" The attendants respectfully replied, O your Highness! a very young lad, named Har Kisan, is said to be sitting on their (chiefs') seat, and it is said that, even in his childhood, he is a very good and perfect fakir." The King said, "Quickly call him to Dilli; I also wish to see him." A Khatri, who was one of the king's ministers, and was also called a disciple of the Guru, got up and respectfully said, "O true King! I will bring Har Kisan." Having thus said, he took a large cavalcade with him, and, having come to Kiratpur, informed the Guru of the circumstances of the king having called him. The Guru went with him to Dilli, seated in a palki, with a very large assemblage of his followers, and, on arrival there, stopped at the house of the minister, who was his disciple; when it became night, then the Guru was there attacked with small-pox; and the small-pox came out so severely, that he had not sufficient strength left in him to visit the king. The disciples, seeing him greatly afflicted, began to say "O Guru! the king desired much to see you, what shall we say to him?" At that time, the Guru replied: "The king does not wish to see me, but he has sent for me to argue with me, but I have now no hopes of remaining in this body." Then the Guru, having given some advice and words of religious counsel to the minister, said, "Tell the king these words from me;" those said words are written in several places in the books of the Sikhs, and many Sikhs have committed them to memory also. When the Guru became much afflicted, then his disciples asked him, "O your Highness! whom shall we regard as the Guru after you?" The Guru thought to himself, "My father used to be displeased with my brother Ram Rai on account of his manifesting miracles, and I cannot see any one fit for the post, to whom shall I make over the badge of Guruship?" He then again reflected, "Baba Teg Bahadur, who now lives in the village called Bakala, although he does not pay much heed to the affairs of the world, still I do not see any one except him, who is fit for the Guruship." Thus thinking, and placing his thoughts on Baba Teg Bahadur, he placed five pice and a cocoanut shell on the ground, and, having done obeisance to him, said to his disciples, "Go! your Guru is in a village called Bakala near Anandpur; he will direct you all in the road of religion." Having thus said, he himself left his body in the year 1721 B.B. i.e. 1664 A.D.

The circumstances of his elder brother, Ram Rai are thus:—Inasmuch as he had a great desire for visiting coun-

tries, wandering about, he came through the mountains to Dehra Dun ; there a large concourse came to him to see his miracles, and he also increased their belief in himself. Remaining there, he made many persons, his disciples, and all those persons, who became his disciples, them he directed in his new road. He was living also in the time of Guru Govind Singh, who is called the tenth Guru ; moreover, he often quarrelled with him ; but Guru Govind Singh never bore enmity towards him in his heart, although he, Ram Rai, used always to remain angry with him ; he also taught his disciples thus, "You must not do obeisance to any one but myself," and also told them that no goddess or god, except himself, was fit for them to worship. To the present day his disciples, who are called Ram Raiyas, do not worship any one else ; moreover the Ram Raiyas do not bend their heads at any of those tombs, which are regarded as (the burying place of) the incarnations of the tenth Guru. Once, Ram Rai, for the sake of one of his disciples, sat in a very deep cave, and began to perform penance according to the rites of the Jogabhiyas. When his life had reached the tenth door,³⁹ then his disciples, who were near, knew that the Guru had died ; all his disciples and followers, reflecting on the circumstances of his death, burnt his body according to the rites of the Hindus, and, having erected a mausoleum there, called its name, "The (dehra) resting place of Ram Rai" and for this reason the name of the mountain is known as Dehra Dun. Here, year by year, a large fair is held, and many good and holy men are collected together.

Verses

Whoever has come (into this world), he will go (from it); this world is a dream :—

He is happy who worships his Creator in this world.

³⁹ The ten doors are the two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, mouth, the organ of generation, the organ of excretion, and the brain ; the tenth alone is a closed organ ; hence the sentence "his life had reached the tenth door," means, his life had gone above to his brain i.e. was closed up.

CHAPTER IX

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU TEG BAHADUR

As Har Kisan, at the time of his death, made over the seat of Guruship in the name of Teg Bahadur, the assemblage came to Bakala to pay their respects to the Guru. There, many Sodhis had given themselves out as the Guru, but a Labana Sikh, having found out Guru Teg Bahadur, did obeisance to him, and said, "O Guru ! Har Kisan has told us to follow you ; do you show kindness, and let us see you." Teg Bahadur used to live aloof like a madman, disgusted with the world, and in wretched circumstances, wearing dirty clothes ; his mother explained to him saying, "O Son ! Guru Har Kisan has appointed you Guru ; do you now dress yourself properly, for the people have come to pay you their respects." Teg Bahadur, who was disgusted with the pleasures of the world, and eschewed all bodily comforts, said, "O mother ! all this world appears false to me, and all its joys and wealth seem to give pain ; I do not care to have the Guruship, for to be a Guru is a thing which gives much trouble ; knowingly to become ensnared in the net of honour and glory is not the religion of the wise ; I cannot carry this load ; do you appoint some one else as Guru." His mother and all the assembly, with much entreaty, besought him, saying, "O true king ! do not bewilder us, for we will now follow no one but you ; it is not good for you also to subvert the order of Guru Har Kisan." In short, at last Guru Teg Bahadur sat on the throne, and began to perform the duties of the Guru.

Departing from Bakala, the Guru came and lived afterwards in Makhowal, which is near Kiratpur, on the banks of the Satluj ; at first its name was Makhowal, but afterwards, on account of the Guru living there, its name was called Anandpur. Although Guru Teg Bahadur sat on the throne of Guruship, still his asceticism did not depart from his heart, and he always remained disgusted with the world ; moreover the songs and couplets, which he composed, are very full of asceticism, and whoever shall read them with true heart, he, regarding the pleasures of the world as contemptible, will undoubtedly be filled with the love of God. All those verses are written in the Granth Sahib, in that place where Guru

Arjan, at the time of making the Granth, left some blank pages. Although the name of Nanak is to be found (affixed) to all these verses, still on account of their being the ninth Mahala, all people know that they are the verses of Guru Teg Bahadur.

Once Guru Teg Bahadur, with his wife and other relatives, went to perform pilgrimage, and, in their pilgrimage, came and stopped in the city of Patna, at which time Govind Singh was born there. The Guru remained there five or six years, and at last on account of some quarrel with the people, he left that place and came and lived in Anandpur. Guru Teg Bahadur was always occupied with this thought, "When Govind Singh is grown up, I will make over the business of Guruship to him, and, unharassed, I will worship my Lord."

This was always his custom, viz., to go out of the city, and live wandering about the jungles. This is what occurred one day; taking two or three Sikhs with him, he went to wander about in the jungles, and went away to Hindustan; when he arrived in Agra, then he went and put up in a garden, and sent his seal ring and a shawl, by a disciple (Sikh) to the bazaar, saying, "Take them to some confectioner—and bring me some food." The confectioner, thinking, that perhaps it was stolen property, took it to the Kotwal. The Kotwal took that seal ring, and came to Teg Bahadur in the garden, and began to ask, "Who are you, and whence have you come?" Teg Bahadur, giving his name and abode, said, "I have at present come from Anandpur to wander about." The Kotwal forthwith wrote to Dilli to King Aurangzeb, saying, "The priest of the Hindus Guru Teg Bahadur, who is of the sect of Nanak, has suddenly fallen into my hands; whatever you may order, I will do." In the heart of King Aurangzeb, there was this desire, that the whole world should accept the Musalman religion; moreover, in those days, he had imprisoned many Brahmans, hoping that, if these people first turned Musalmans, then the desire for it would of itself arise in other people's hearts. When the king heard this, that Guru Teg Bahadur had been seized, then he became very pleased at heart, for he, having before heard of the sect of Nanak from various people, had been very desirous to meet with it. He forthwith wrote and sent to Agra, saying, "Quickly send him to Dilli." When the Guru came to Dilli, then the king disputed and argued with him much, and, having

asked him various religious questions, at last said this, "Do you accept my religion, otherwise you shall be killed;"—Teg Bahadur, who was an artless and simple fakir, and entirely taken up with worship, gave no answer to his words, but, seeing his violence, laughed in his heart, for he was not well read in the Vedas, and did not know how to converse. The king then asked him to show some miracles, but he still remained perfectly quiet; at last, the king sent him, with his three disciples, to prison and said, "You shall not be released, until you accept this religion." When he went to jail, the king first offered him many things to tempt him, but when he, even then, did not agree to become a Musalman, he then began to afflict him much. The Guru, having undergone much trouble, wrote a letter to Govind Singh at Anandpur, to this effect: "The Musalmans have made me very helpless," and in that letter he also wrote this, "My power is broken, and I am bound in chains, and can devise no means of escape; agreeably to Nanak's saying, now my help lies with God only; He will help me as He helped the elephant."⁴⁰ The meaning of this is, that his power was broken, and he was imprisoned, and there remained no means of escape; now, agreeably to Nanak's saying, help was to be looked for only from God, and, as Vishnu helped the afflicted elephant, as also would He help him. Govind Singh, having read the letter, became very afflicted, and, as he could not go himself on account of his helplessness, he sent a letter in answer to it, to this effect; "You are yourself the most powerful of all, and can do whatsoever you wish, for God always is with you." The Guru, regarding the afflictions, which he suffered at the hands of the king, as the decree of God, bore them patiently. Two of his disciples (Sikhs), seeing the afflictions of that place, ran away, but one who was a true devotee, would not separate from the Guru, and used often to say thus, "O Guru! my head is sold to you; whatever shall be your state, shall be my state, and I will now never separate from you." When the Musalmans had much afflicted the Guru in that place, then he thought, "Now it is better not to live, for the king uses much force to make me turn Musalman." After this, the Guru had a conversation with the king about religious matters, in which he said.

⁴⁰ The story is that an exceedingly powerful elephant was once attacked by a small river insect and was rendered helpless by it; many elephants came to his assistance to try and help him, but could do nothing; at last the elephant prayed to God, acknowledging its own inability to help itself, and then God delivered it out of its troubles.

"If God had wished to make all the world Musalmans, then why did He leave other religions in the world ? for whatever He wishes, that comes to pass." On hearing these words, the king became still more angry, and began to afflict him even more than before.

One day, Guru Teg Bahadur said to his disciple (Sikh) :—"Now this is my desire, that I should leave my life ; so when I tell you, do you with your hand, cut off my head." He said, "O Guru ! how can this fearful thing be done by me ? for I regard you as my saviour and my god. For me to cut off your head is out of the question ; moreover if any one were to disturb a single hair of your head, I would, there and then, make a heap (of dust) of him." The Guru said, "You have truly said, and I know that there is no deficiency in your devotion and love, but do you also consider this, that to disobey the order of a Guru is not the custom of a disciple ; I say this to you with much affection, that if you, according to my command, will cut off my head, and release me from this torment, then there will no blame attach to you in this." The Sikh, on hearing this, trembled, and began to say in his heart, "Alas ! Alas ! now what shall I do ? if I disobey the order,—then I will falsify my religion, and if I cut off the Guru's head, then I shall become a very great sinner." The Guru, having narrated to him many proofs, at last made him agree to cut off his head. When the morning broke, then the Guru first bathed, and, having repeated the Japji, placed his head on the ground to do obeisance to his Lord ; and then gave a sign, saying, "O Sikh ! fulfil the command." That Sikh gave a blow with his sword and separated his head. When the news reached Govind Singh in Anandpur of the death of the Guru, then he became very afflicted ; but afterwards, having accepted it as the decree of God, said to his sweepers, "Do you, by some means, bring the body of the Guru here, for if we sent any men of high birth, or one of our disciples (Sikhs), then they would not be able to get into the royal prison ; but you are poor people, and, under the pretence of sweeping, can go in, and accomplish this business." They at once went to Dilli, and, having hid his body in a cart of grass, brought it to Anandpur. Govind Singh was much pleased with them ; moreover that very day, having blessed them, he said, "From to-day, you are the sons of the Guru, and will be called Rangharetas."⁴¹ They,

⁴¹ The Ranghars, or Musalman Rajputs, are considered a very brave race of men ; hence ranghareta implies "brave heroes."

who, in the present day, are called Majabi Sikhs in the Panjab, are all their descendants. The body was burnt in Anandpur, and, with much joy and rejoicing, a very large huge mausoleum was erected there, and its name has become known, as the shrine of Teg Bahadur. The head of the Guru which had remained in Dilli, that head the Sikhs burnt there, and the tomb, which was erected over it, became known by the name of Sisgang (Head Heap), and crowds go there also to visit it, and make their offerings. In the mind of Guru Teg Bahadur, it had always been settled to give the seat of Guruship to Govind Singh, for, from his childhood, he appeared very active and clever; and as Teg Bahadur never cared for the business of the Guruship, he wished, when Govind Singh grew up, that he should make over the business of the Guruship to him, and himself escape from the burden. At last, taking this wish in his heart, his head was cut off in the year 1732 B.B., i.e. the year 1675 A.D., and the throne of the Guruship came into the possession of Govind Singh :—

Verses

God alone is true, all the world is false ;

Therefore do not sit in this country of dreams with your legs stretched out (i.e. at ease).

CHAPTER X

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF GURU GOVIND SINGH

This Guru Govind Singh, from his very childhood, was exceedingly expert, and, in his early years even, he learnt archery so well, that none of his companions were able to shoot arrows like him. It appears from many of his words, that he also knew Persian; and although he had no knowledge, except of Persian and Gurumukhi, still on account of his associating with Pandats and maulvis and other wise people, he could talk and discourse very nicely, and, by his arguments, he drew many people to himself. When he sat on the seat of Guruship, and crowds came to see him, then he thought thus to himself, "The Musalmans have much afflicted the Gurus and holy men and other devotees, who were before me; I must now, with the help of these assemblies, take their revenge from the Turks." And he reflected thus too: "The disposition of all these assemblies from the time of Guru Nanak has been like that of fakirs, and they do not know the ways of battle and war; it behoves me to make a new sect in my own name, and, having taught them the use of arms and the mode of government, get them to fight with the Turks." Thus thinking, he departed from Anandpur, and went to the peak of Nainadevi, situated in the mountains about five kos distance from there; then, having gone inside her temple, and joining his hands before the goddess, he petitioned; "O Durga! I, for the sake of taking revenge on the Turks, wish to make a sect, do you give me this power." Having thus said, he called the Pandats, and began to perform penance according to their directions. When he had finished his penance, the Pandats began to make him offer burnt offerings. When a hundred maunds of wheat, sugar, fruit and molasses had been placed on the fire, and the burnt offering had been completed, then the Pandats said: "O Guru, now in this instance for a sacrifice of oblation, do you cut off the head of your son, and offer it up." Govind Singh had four sons; the name of one was Jorawar Singh, of the second Fateh Singh, of the third Jujhar Singh, and of the fourth Jit Singh. When the Guru asked the mothers to offer up their sons as a sacrifice, then they said: "We will withdraw from

forwarding your new sect ; to kill your sons to create your sect is not pleasing to us." When he could not get a son, then he again asked the Pandats. "Now do you please name some other offering." The Pandats fulfilled the sacrifice, by offering up some thing else. It is reported, that the goddess appeared and said, "Go ! your sect will be set going in the world." Then Govind Singh, having come to Anandpur, and collected all the assembly, wished to see who were really in earnest. The Guru, having called all the assembly, said, "I require the head of one man ; let him, who loves his Guru, give his head to me." On hearing this, most of the people ran away, and the sincerity of many was shattered ; but amongst them all, five disciples, getting up, said : "O true king ! our heads are present ; cut them off when you please." Of these five, the name of one was Dharm Singh, of the second Sukha Singh, of the third Daya Singh, of the fourth Himmat Singh, and of the fifth Mukhan Singh. The Guru, having taken these five into a room, began to say : "O beloved ! I have been much pleased with your faith and sincerity, for you have not refused to give your heads in the name of the Guru ; come now, I will baptize you in the true religion." Then, having caused these five to bathe, he seated them together, and then, having dissolved some sweetmeats in water, and stirred it up with a knife⁴², and having read some verses composed by himself, which are written in the book called Akal Ustut (or immortal praise), he gave them some of that sharbat to drink, and put some on their heads, and what was left, he sprinkled on their bodies, and then, patting them with his own hands, called out with a loud voice and said, "Say O sect of the Wah Guru (God), 'Victory be to the Lord (Wah Guru)'." Then having baptized those five, he was himself afterwards baptized in the same way ; and then said to them "Whoever is my disciple will always keep five things, the first letter (of the names) of which is K ; namely kes (hair), kangha (comb), karad (knife), kirpan (talwar or sword) and kachh⁴³ ; and he who shall leave off wearing any of these things, he shall not be my disciple (Sikh)." Then, having written what else was to be recognized as the principles, rites, and usages of his disciples, he gave it to them ; and, at the present time, the Sikhs call that writing their Rahit Nama or code. It is useless to pen the whole of that code

⁴² Khanda is the two edged pointed weapon worn in the head-dress of the Akalis.

⁴³ Kachh are short breeches, reaching to the knees, worn by Sikhs.

here, but the parts of it, which it is necessary for foreigners to know, I will write here.—

The Code of the Sikhs

Not to believe in the Vedas, Sastras, Purans, or the Kuran.

Not to pay any heed to the word of Pandats, Pandhas, Miyaans, or Mahitas.

Not to perform any funeral obsequies (saradh)⁴⁴ (khiah),⁴⁵ (karam kiria);⁴⁶ but when performed, to do so according to the decrees of the Granthji.

Not to wear any janeu (Brahminical thread), Bodi (tuft of hair), Mala (necklace), kanthi (rosary).

Not to worship at any mari (grave) or masan (burning place).

Not to perform Sandhia Gatri,⁴⁷ Path (reading Brahminical books), or Puja (worship); only to read the japji, japji, &c.

Not to give food⁴⁸ to any but disciples.

Not to regard Brahmans and Saiads as high in rank.

Never to bare the head.

Never to touch a hukka or tobacco.

Never to apply a razor to the head or beard.

Never to covet another man's wife or another man's goods.

Never to read Mantras, according to the rites of the Vedas, at marriages, deaths, or births.

Never to be disobedient to the Guru.

Never to mix with the following five sects, namely, Dhirmalliyas, Ramraias, Minas, Masands, and Sirgunms, and never to consort with these five.

The Dhirmalliyas are those, who are of the offspring of Dhirmall. The Ramraias are those, who are called the disciples of Guru Ram Rai of Dehra Dun. The Minas are those, who are of the family of Pirthi Mall, the uncle of Hargovind; that Pirthi Mall hid six letters, which were sent from Lahaur. The Masands are those, who go before the Guru and collect disciples, and eat what belongs to the

⁴⁴ Saradh is the commemoration of one's deceased ancestors in the month Assu.

⁴⁵ Khiah is the yearly remembrance of the dead on the anniversary of death.

⁴⁶ Karam kiria are the obsequies performed at a funeral.

⁴⁷ Forms of Brahminical prayers.

⁴⁸ Neunda means holy food, given as alms.

offerings of the Gurus. The Sirgunms are those, who are called atheists, Sarawagis and Jains.

If any disciple, by mistake, shall have dealings with any of these, five sects, then he must present a rupee and a quarter's worth of Karah Prasad,⁴⁹ and offer it up with his knife stuck in it, and, joining his hands, ask forgiveness of his fault from God. In place of Sandhia Gatri, to read the Rahuras, Arti Suhla⁵⁰ and the Japji and Japji. On the occasion of a marriage, to read the Anand (song of joy) and, at the time of a death, meditate on the Granthji. In short, whatever is laid down to be done in the Sastras, or is according to the customs of the country, shall be performed according to the decrees of the Granthji; and if the bones of the dead can be thrown into the Ganges, it is well; otherwise, if they are deposited in the district of Anmritsar, this will be equal to throwing them into the Ganges. In this way he pointed out many other rules also, and, in a few days, thousands of Sikhs, having been baptized, joined him. The sharbat, which is given to drink at the time of baptism, its name they call Anmrit (nectar) or the water of life.

History of Govind Singh

One day, Govind Singh took a fancy that he would send for the book of the Granth Sahib, and write something more in it; but as, at that time, that book was in the house of the Sodhis of Kartarpur, they would not give it to Govind Singh; moreover, they said thus: "As Govind Singh also calls himself the Guru, let him, by his own power, make another new Granthji." When the Guru heard that they would not give the book, then, after a few days, the Guru discovered that, from reading the original Granthji, the Sikhs became very feeble-hearted; he therefore determined himself to compose such a Granth, that, from reading it, his disciples, having learnt the science of government and the use of weapons, and other kinds of expertness, should become fit for fighting. Accordingly, from that very day, he commenced to make a very large Granth, and when it was finished in the year 1753 B.B. on the eighth of the light half of the month Bhadon, on a Sunday, then he called its name "The Granth Sahib of the tenth Guru." This Granth is very

⁴⁹ Karah Parshad or halwa is a sweatmeat, made of flour, sugar and clarified butter.

⁵⁰ These are the names of various Sikh hymns.

difficult, and is composed in many measures in the Hindi dialect, and in it there are many counsels from the Sastras on the manner of giving battle and making war, and about the wiles of women and their arts, and about devotion and the knowledge of God. From it, it appears that Govind Singh was very expert in making poetry. When from all sides, crowds began to come to him, then the talk of his new sect began to spread about in all places; moreover, the news was also conveyed to the king of Dilli; (it was) also (reported) that a large army always remained with Govind Singh, and the king was continually anxious about this matter. When his (Govind Singh's) Sikhs began to plunder in all quarters, and to commit robberies, then the kings of the hills beyond Anandpur also began to consult about making war against him. This is what occurred one day; the hill kings sent a message to Govind Singh, saying "In your possession is a certain elephant, which you must send to us." As there were many good qualities in that elephant, and the Guru was very fond of it, on this account, the Guru did not agree to send it. The hill people, being greatly displeased at this affair, and taking very many soldiers with them, came to Anandpur. The fight lasted very severely for several days, and innumerable soldiers of both sides were killed; moreover, two of Govind Singh's sons were killed in that fight at a city called Chamkaur, and a shrine was erected there, and called Chamkaur Sahib. They say that Govind Singh several times defeated and put to flight the hill people, but afterwards when they attacked Anandpur with the assistance of the king's army, then Govind Singh thought it better to go away from Anandpur. Govind Singh, leaving all his army there, and taking those his first five disciples, and his two sons with him, came and lived in the house of a Sikh in a city called Machhuwara. When the armies came after him there also, then Govind Singh, dyeing his clothes in surma (antimony), got off disguised as a Musalman through the midst of the armies. He set off with those same five Sikhs to the country of Malwa, but his two sons remained there; when those two lads fell into the hands of the army, then the army seized and sent them to a city called Sarand. The governor of that place, by name Wazir Khan, sent information to the king at Dilli, saying: "Two sons of Guru Govind Singh, who has set going the Khalsa sect, have fallen into my hands; whatever you shall order, that shall be done to them." As King Aurangzeb, from hearing the report of them, had already

become distressed, on receiving this (news), he became glad at heart, and wrote and sent this answer, "Do you take the lives of these two lads." On reading the royal command, the governor, having taken the lads, buried them under a foundation (of a building), and, having erected a wall over it, built a house there. At that time, from observing the orphan state of these children, the very walls even wept; but from seeing the crying and sobbing of these children, no pity came to that vile governor. That day, all the people in Sarand remained uttering "Alas! alas!" and heaving regrets, and no one ate their food with any appetite. At the time of their being put to death, all the attendants, who were present, from fear of the governor, said nothing, except a Pathan of Maler Kotla, who expostulated much with the governor, saying, "What have these orphan children taken belonging to you?" but that wretch heeded not in the least. When the news of the killing of his sons reached Govind Singh on the road, then those five Sikhs began to give vent to words of sorrow. Govind Singh, for the sake of removing their sorrow, having drawn two lines on the ground, effaced them, and said, "O brother Sikhs! as, from the drawing and effacing of these lines, you feel no joy or sorrow, so also should you know that God has made the whole world as lines according to His desire; and when it is His pleasure, He effaces them; therefore it behoves the wise to remain silent regarding His decrees." Then the Guru went and stood at the gate of a fort in a village named Kotkapura, which is in Malwa, on which a Jatt, named Kapura, who was the commander of that fort, came out from within; then the Guru asked him for a place to hide himself. He gave reply, "You have come here, having killed your sons, and now you wish to have me killed also by the king." The Guru, heaving a sigh, said, "Very well, if God wills, then you will be hanged also." In short, when the Guru went from there and lived in a place called Mukatsar, which is in the district of Firozpur, then that Jatt named Kapura, who was the commander of Kotkapura, was hung agreeably to the orders of the king.

Afterwards, the king and the hill chiefs received information that Govind Singh had gone and taken up his residence in Mukatsar; but there was this thing to be considered, that, on account of the scarcity of water in that country, the army would suffer much hardship. Although, after reflecting over this matter, the heart of the king hesitated much at sending

an army, still the hill chiefs, by urging him on, had armies despatched from Dilli and came and surrounded Mukatsar. As Guru Govind Singh was seated there without any thought thereof, when he saw himself surrounded by the army, he became much perplexed. At last, having called his Sikhs from the surrounding country, he encouraged them to fight. In short, at that time, many thousands Sikhs, all ready to lay down their lives, joined Govind Singh; when the fight commenced on both sides, then many thousand men of the king's army were killed; and although many Sikhs of Govind Singh's (army) were also killed, still they did not leave the battle field. At last, the king's army was obliged to retreat for want of water, and Govind Singh began to live there; at the place at which the fight took place, Govind Singh caused a very large tank to be dug, and called its name Mukatsar; and, by reason of the making of that tank, the name of that place, which was before but a small village, became renowned as Mukatsar. Govind Singh explained to his disciples "Many people have obtained salvation here, so now, whoever shall perform ablution in this place with true love and devotion, he, too, will obtain salvation." Now-a-days, every year on the first of the month Magh (12th January to 12th February), a very large fair is held there. Afterwards, when all the quarrels with the king had come to an end, then Govind Singh, taking a large concourse with him, came and lived in a village of Malwa, and for sometime enjoyed quiet there. The people of Malwa are very simple and artless, and thousands of them, from associating with him, were baptized as his disciples. The Guru made a very beautiful place there for himself to live in, and called its name the Damdama. Now-a-days, a very large fair is held there, and many people go there to learn the words of wisdom, and stop there some time; for Guru Govind Singh, after building that place, made it known among his disciples, that whoever should come here and live, he, however great a fool he might be, would become wise; at the present time, many disciples and holy saints, who are very good and wise, live there; and whoever, having left his family, shall go there, merely for the sake of getting wisdom, he will surely become wise; and there is this very good point also about this place, that as many writers of the Gurumukhi letters live there, and they write a very good hand, none but their pupils can write as they do; that place is now known as the Damdama Sahib. After this, departing from there, the Guru came to Sarand, where his two sons had

been murdered by being buried under a foundation. When the Guru arrived at that house, where his two sons were buried, then he became very sad, but, by reason of the strength of his religious understanding, he did not manifest the grief of his heart. His disciples petitioned him, saying, "O Guru ! if you command, then we will set fire to this city of Sarand, for it is not good for such a vile city as this, in which the sons of the Guru were murdered without fault, to exist in the world !" The Guru replied : "O Bhai Sikhs ! no fault attaches to the whole city, but the fault is merely the king's, and God himself will take vengeance on him." Again also, when his disciples petitioned, saying : "O true king ! we feel very angry with this city ; if you will give us the command, we will raze it to the ground and efface its foundation and site." The Guru, seeing the obstinacy of his disciples, thought thus : "If I were to give the order to burn and raze this city, then the anger of the king would be aroused against me afresh. It is therefore better that I should give them some other order." Having thus thought, calling out, he said to his disciples : "Let whoever is my disciple, when he goes from Sarand to the Ganges, take two bricks from here, and throw them into the Jamna ; and when he returns, then let him take two bricks and throw them into the Satluj ; whoever does not obey this my command, his bathing in the Ganges will be of no account." He said this also : "From to-day, let no one call it Sarand ; its name is Gurumari (cursed) ; accordingly to the present day, people take bricks from there and throw them into the Jamna and Satluj ; and, rising in the morning, no Hindu mentions the name of it.⁵¹ Afterwards, the disciples made a very large tomb there, and all Sikhs go there to do obeisance, and offer oblations. After this the Guru, wandering about, came to Anandpur ; one day, when a large assembly had collected, then the Guru said : "The Turks, i.e., the Musalmans, have given much trouble to the world, and have afflicted our race for many generations, and have also robbed us of much of our property and treasure, and have killed our children ; now let all the Khalsa assemble, and destroy them for me ! for this very reason, I have given you arms and raised this sect." The assembly, joining their hands, said : "O true Guru ! we are at your service with our lives and property ; but it behoves us to

⁵¹ i.e., they do not mention the name of Sarand until after they have taken their morning meal. Sikhs never mention it by the name Sarand, but call it "Gurumari."

consider one thing, that the armies of the Turks are uncountable, and their power is beyond bounds, how can we, helpless, poor Sikhs, conquer them? Therefore, it is best that you should first write a letter to King Aurangzeb, and send and give him advice, that he should no longer afflict your good, pious, and poor followers. If he shall pay regard to this and desist from his depravity, all well; if not, we will fight with him." The Guru, regarding this advice as good, wrote a letter in verse in the Persian language, and sent it to the king. That letter they have styled and called the *Jafarnama* (letter of victory.) Although there is no necessity for writing the whole of that letter here, still those parts of it, which are fraught with good advice, I will write here, for, from reading them, the wisdom and bravery of Govind Singh will be manifested.

The Jafarnama (or letter of victory)

"O King! as God has seated you on the throne, would it not be better, if you did not commit injustice towards people? Behold! what injustice you have done me, who lived on a mountain peak, and had never molested any of your villages or towns; you without fault, first imprisoned my father, Guru Teg Bahadur, and killed him, and then, joining with other rulers, you sent armies against me; then you killed my young children, and thousands of my disciples; you have slain my wives, and robbed my treasury; but remember that these injustices, which are committed in your threshold, are not allowed at the threshold of God; there, justice is most truly meted out; there, kings and worms, (i.e., poor) are held equal. But if you have this wrong idea, that although you are a king, you eat barley bread with the labour of your own hands,⁵² then look at the horse; for it does a great deal of work and always eats barley. But if you say that you read the Kuran, then what is the good? for until one purifies one's heart with good deeds, the reading the Kuran with one's lips does no good, but the fire of hell is made still hotter for one. If you have this thought, that, from doing service to God, you will escape from the pains of hell, then listen; reading four verses with your mouth is not called true service, but

⁵² It is usual for true worshippers only to eat barley-bread; Aurungzeb is said never to have tasted food purchased with money from the royal coffers, but from what he obtained from the proceeds of his own handiwork. He used to employ himself in making caps, &c. This then is as much as to say; "Don't imagine, that although you eat barley-bread, you are a true worshipper."

subduing your appetites is real worship ; you, on the contrary, with the intoxication of royalty, foster your lusts. Behold ! you, for the pleasure of your heart, killed your own father and brothers ; what service do you call this ? But if you hold this wrong idea, that the prophet will deliver you from the fire of hell, then listen ; all the prophets have said that they will deliver those who shall obey their commands, and, leaving their bad ways, shall take to good actions ; if you do not obey their orders, why will the prophets deliver you ? Wherefore know well, that punishment is ready for you in the presence of God. Again if you wrongly suppose that you hold fast the law of the prophets, because you demolish Hindu temples and the temples of Shiva, and thus uproot idolatry, then listen ; you have not done away with it, rather you have increased idolatry ; for formerly, when temples existed, the Hindus knew for certain that, when they wished, they could come to them and do worship ; but now, that you have destroyed the temples, on this account every Hindu has placed an idol in his home, for until they do worship, they cannot take their food.⁵³ Again, if you wrongly suppose that people praise you, then listen ; the flatterers⁵⁴ used to praise King Pharaoh, but, in the end, he did not escape from the fire of hell. And if you have this hope, that as God is merciful, He will have mercy on you and deliver you, then listen ; as you do not show mercy to people, but are intent on giving them pain, then why should God show mercy to you ? This can never be, for a man does not sow sprouts of akh⁵⁵ and reap mangoes ; rather it thus happens, that whatever seed one sows, its fruit one reaps."

Having written these words of advice, then he also wrote some words about the ways of government, viz., "Beware ! as you have oppressed people much, so also will the Khalsa torment you. Now the day of your retribution has come ; God is very angry with you. Behold now ; I will, with the help of God, take my revenge from you, for the Khalsa has only been raised to kill you."

Guru Govind, having written that letter, gave it into the hand of a Bhai, named Daya Singh, a Sikh, and said, "Do thou go to Dilli, and give this letter into the hands of king Aurangzeb himself. When Daya Singh departed from

⁵³ Lit. "Bread and water."

⁵⁴ Lit. "Men with an object (gharaj)."

⁵⁵ Also called madar ; it is a bitter plant, which grows wild, and, from the leaf of which, a thick milky substance exudes.

Anandpur and reached Dilli, then he went and gave that letter to the king. The king, on reading it, was much ashamed, and, although, after reading it, the king, in his heart determined to go and see him, he however (did not fulfil his intention, for he) died a few days after its perusal. In short, the king, having read that letter, said, "The Khalsa, which has now been formed, has been formed forty years before its proper time; hence it is well, for it will suffer much affliction." The Guru, hearing of the death of the king, was greatly pleased, and said to his disciples, "Behold! God has given much ease, otherwise many people in the world would have been killed." When, after Aurangzeb, his son Bahadur Shah obtained the throne, and his brother tried to take away the kingship from him, then Bahadur Shah commenced a contest with his brothers. Moreover, in that war, Guru Govind Singh also sent his army and somewhat helped Bahadur Shah; rather, it was chiefly owing to the Sikh army, that Bahadur Shah obtained the victory over his brothers, and again sat on the throne. From that day Bahadur Shah became very friendly with Guru Govind Singh, and often sent trays of rarities and fruits to Anandpur to the Guru. Once, the Guru wished to go and travel in the eastern countries, and, having determined thus, he departed from Anandpur with those five disciples; after wandering about, he arrived in the city of Agra, and there heard that King Bahadur Shah had also come there. The Guru, for the sake of meeting him, went and stood at the gate of his fort; now the Guru always rode on horseback, and carried a hawk (bird) on his hand, and wore a crown with a plume on his head, and always had with him those five armed Sikhs. When the gatekeepers saw his state, they said, "Leave your arms here, otherwise you will not be allowed to go into the fort." The Guru gave reply, "We will not take off our arms; do you go and give the king news of me." The gatekeeper, having gone inside, petitioned, saying: "A Sikh, named Govind Singh, has come to see you, and is standing at the gate, and says: 'I will go inside with my arms on; therefore, according as you may order, so we will go and tell him.'" The king, immediately on hearing his name, said, "You have acted very wrongly, in that you have hindered him from coming inside; therefore go quickly and bring him in just as he pleases." The Guru went in, with the gatekeeper and his five Sikhs, into the presence of the king, and greeted him with much joy; and, after asking him all his news regarding his pleasure and

health, they conversed together a good deal about travelling and sport ; when some time had thus passed, one of the king's ministers, a Musalman began also to discourse on religious matters with the Guru ; afterwards a Kazi who was seated in the Durbar, asked this question, "O Guru ! the Guru has commanded that the creature has been sent into the world to do service ; so will you please point out what service the creature should do ?" He gave reply : "The creature should do this service, viz., that he should remain free from sin, but at the same time regard himself as a sinner." The Kazi, on hearing this, was satisfied and said : "Yes, it is true, that the creature can never say before his God, that he is free from sin." The Guru remained there some days, and the king gave him much wealth and presents. After this, the Guru, wandering about, came to Anandpur ; and when several of the hill kings again began quarrelling with him, the Guru, taking an army of his Sikhs with him, attacked them. In short, at a city called Bhiana, which is in the hills, a very great fight took place. Then all the kings, who had not very much power, being afraid of the Guru, at last fled away. Afterwards Govind Singh built a large handsome building at that place, and, having placed in it a copy of the Granth, called the name of that place Dehra. After this, as the Guru, after having conquered the Rajas, was returning to Anandpur, then in one place on the road his paunta, or foot ornament, fell off, and the Guru, dismounting from his horse, picked it up. On this, the residents of that place thought, "If we build a temple here, people will come and worship, and make offerings"; they therefore made a temple there, and called, and made known its name as Paunta Sahib and, now-a-days, a very large fair is held there. After this, the Guru came to Anandpur and rested for some days. Large assemblies used to collect, and this is what occurred one day ; as the Guru was seated in Anandpur, some actors came there to act. The Sikhs, who were greatly harassed by the masandas, or priests of the Guru, said to those actors "Do you act the doings of some masandas ;" the object of the Sikhs was this, that the Guru might hear of the depravity of his masandas, and give them punishment.

The actors at once commenced to act the part of a masanda, and, from thence, set forth for the house of a Sikh ; the masanda, taking a prostitute along with him, and, having drunk a bottle of wine, mounted a horse ; and, in company with four or five men, came to the house of that Sikh. When

the Sikh saw that a masanda of the Guru had come to his house, then, joining his hands, he stood up and said, "O great king ! fortunate is my fate, that you have visited me. Come, sir ! and sit down here ; you are welcome." When the masanda had sat down, then the Sikh, having sold some of his pots, brought gram and grass for the horse, and prepared bread and dal for the masanda. The masanda, seeing the dal and bread, became very angry ; moreover, casting away that bread on to a dung heap, he threw the dal into the fire-place and said, "Why, O wretched Sikh ! have you set before me dry bread as an offering, which my dog even would not eat ? Go, quickly depart, and get ready some Karah Prasad and some Maha Prasad."⁵⁶ That Sikh, who was very poor, having sold his wife's rings, prepared every thing. The masanda, having eaten and drunk, began to say, "Now bring your offerings before me." The Sikh, having pledged his counterpane with some difficulty, brought him a rupee, and said, "O Guru ! I am a poor Sikh ; have mercy upon me, and accept this offering." The Guru, first having touched the rupee, flung it to the prostitute, and, himself throwing down that Sikh, began to kick him ; while the Sikh was on the ground being kicked, he, joining his hands, began to say "O Guru ! I am a poor creature (like a cow), forgive me." Then Guru Govind Singh, becoming very angry, asked his Sikhs, "O my disciples ! do my masandas go to your houses, and act in this way ?" The disciples gave reply, "O true king ! they give us even greater pains than this !" and those actors also petitioned, saying, "O Guru ! as, at this time, the masandas are seated before you, from fear of them, we cannot act the part in full ; but do you know for true, that your masandas give your disciples a hundred times more pains." When the Guru had heard these things about the masandas, then he issued an order by beat of drum to his disciples, saying : "Do you proclaim to all the assembled multitude and tell them, not to let the masandas get away." The assembled multitude, hearing the proclamation, immediately stopped all the masandas. The Guru, having shut up many of them in rooms, put them to death, and others, he killed by hunger and thirst ; and others were tied up and slain, and others were beaten to death : whilst others were seized and fried in frying pans, filled with hot oil. After this, the Guru said : "Let whoever is my disciple never associate with the masandas ; for they are

⁵⁶ Meat.

great sinners and the stricken of God, and the cursed of the Guru." From that very day, people have kept aloof from the masandas; after this, on another occasion, the Guru, taking a large concourse with him, went to wander about; and, after roaming about, he arrived at the banks of a river and amused himself with hunting tigers in several places; and then, proceeding on, put up at a village, called Chamkaur situated in Ropar. When he had stopped there some days, he then built a large temple there, and the name of that village is now known as Chamkaur Sahib. Once, the Guru was seated in his court, when one of his disciples brought his son before him, and said, "O Guru! this my son, from hearing your words, has become disgusted with the habits of the world, and will not marry; do you have mercy and explain to him, that he should marry and enjoy pleasure in the world." The Guru asked that lad, "Why have you become an ascetic from hearing my words?" He replied, "O Guru! from hearing the following words which are in the Anandji (song of joy), I have become disgusted with the world; and these are those words:

This family, which you see, will not go with you;

It will not go with you, therefore do not fix your thoughts on it;

Undertake not such a business, of which you may, afterwards, altogether repent;

Listen thou to the advice of the Guru, who will always be with you;

Baba Nanak has said, 'Hear, O dear one! always hold fast the Truth (God).'

As you, O true King! have left off living with your family, then how can I devote myself to my family?" The Guru embraced him and said, "O child! praised be thou, that, regarding the words of the Grue as true, thou remainest indifferent towards thy family; but listen! those who are the beloved of God, they, although they may live with their family, do not cut themselves off from the love of God; moreover, those people who live in the married state, they can perform the service of the hungry and thirsty; listen! I will tell you a story, as to how those who are married, should live, and how those who are fakirs, should live. In a forest, a bird and its mate lived on a tree, and, suddenly, a traveller arrived there; the bird said to its mate, 'O dear one! we are married, and the religion of the married state

is this, that if any hungry or thirsty one should come to one's house, one should do service to him.' Having thus said, the bird brought some half-burnt, ignited goat-dung, and placed it before the traveller, and then, knocking down its nest, threw it on the ignited dung. The female then threw herself into the fire, and was roasted. After this, when the traveller, having eaten her up, was not satisfied, then the male bird also threw himself into the fire; and then the hunger of the traveller was somewhat abated. This, O child! is the advantage of being a married man, that, like that bird and its mate, you can show mercy; and those people, who only marry for the sake of filling their stomachs, and do not help others, it is with them that God is displeased. He is a true married man who regulates his own food, and brings it into use, to relieve the hunger, and affliction of others. Therefore, if you will be such a married man, then undoubtedly marry; there will be no (cause of) fear in your doing so. Now I will tell you a story of a fakir. A fakir lived in the jungles and never asked anything from any one; once on a time, the will of God was this, that, for eight days, he got no food from anywhere; then the fakir thought to himself, 'As God has given me hands and feet, I will go into the city and beg.' When he went into the city, then he saw a wedding taking place at a house, and went and sat down at the door; although many good and holy men were being fed by the master of that house, none of them asked the state of the fakir; in the evening, becoming hopeless, he went away from that door, and setting out for his own hut, met two men coming along with lighted grass torches. They said to him, 'As that marriage throng kept you seated all day, and sent you away without giving you any thing to eat, if you will give us the order, we will set fire to their house with these grass torches.' He said, 'Very well; but give me a torch, so that I may also do some thing (take part).' When they had given that torch into his hand, then he began to set them on fire. They said, 'What conduct is this that, instead (of the house), you are setting fire to us?' He replied, 'You are great sinners and very unjust; for you have given me very bad advice; behold! their not giving me anything to eat was the Will of God; and if God had wished them to give any thing to me, no one could have stopped them; then it does not become me to be displeased with the Will of God, rather it becomes me, to regard nakedness, hunger, grief and joy as the Will of God, and always to return thanks to His Will.'

On hearing this, those people said, 'You are a perfect saint ; may God always give firmness to your faith.' "

The Guru then said to that lad : "If any man shall become a fakir in the road of God, then it behoves him, like that fakir, to keep his heart filled with mercy, religion, forbearance and patience ; otherwise it would be better for him to be a thag than a fakir." In this same way, the Guru continued giving advice to many people. Guru Ram Rai was still living in the time of this Guru, and the two, for many reasons, were at variance with each other, and the assemblies of the two parties often wished to fight with each other, but were restrained. Guru Govind Singh also always bore enmity towards⁵⁷ the Sodhis of Kartarpur in his inmost heart, because of their refusing to give him the Granth ; moreover, on this very account, he wrote in his code that his disciples should not hold intercourse with the Dhirmalliys, which is the name of the Kartarpuris. After this, the Guru continued wandering about and visiting various countries and regions. In short, in his life-time, 125,000 Sikhs embraced his sect ; although this Guru continued to be styled the representative of Nanak, it, however, appears from many of his words, that he differed from him. His religion was not confined to any one book or prophet or incarnation ; but it would appear that he picked out various customs and habits of the old prophets and incarnations (i.e., Muhammadan and Hindu), which were good for giving strength to his sect, and bringing him other advantages, and these he made current among his followers.

Guru Govind Singh's whole life was passed in wandering about, and in reflection and thought ; the particulars of his death are thus related ; one day, Govind Singh went to the east country to travel, and on the road, at some place, he met with a Pathan. That Pathan was the grandson of that Painde Khan, who had a fight with the sixth Guru, Har Govind, in Kartarpur. The Guru showed much affection towards that Pathan, and moreover kept him as a servant with himself, and said, "Come with me and visit the east country." He began to live with the Guru, and the Guru never even mentioned the former enmity to him ; rather, when he used to come to him, he used to talk most affectionately to him. One day, the Guru, after behaving to him in his usual manner, began to joke and chaff with that Pathan ; when the Guru

⁵⁷ Lit. "He never forgave."

saw that he took his chaff as chaff, then he began to tease him further, and said to him ; "O such and such a Khan ! if a certain person's father killed a certain person's grandfather, and his son, or grandson, came and obtained his bread and water from him ; then say, would he not be very shameless ?" He gave answer, "If any one, having remained with the enemy of his father and grandfather, should thus get his living from him, then that man would be very shameless and a rogue."⁵⁸ Again, the Guru said, "O such and such a Khan ! if a certain Pathan should become the servant of the enemy of his father, then what would you think of him ?" He said, "I should not consider him a Pathan, but a weaver."⁵⁹ Again, the Guru said : "If the enemy of your father and grandfather were to meet you any where, and you were at that time armed with your weapons, say, what would you then do ?" He gave reply, "I would never allow him to escape alive." Afterwards, that Pathan began to think to himself, "Why does the Guru continually question me in this way ?" Then, having thought, he remembered that Guru Govind Singh was of the offspring of that Guru Har Govind, who had fought with his grandfather in Kartarpur. Having thus thought, he became very ashamed in his heart ; moreover, from that day, he determined for certain to himself, that if, at any time, he should get the opportunity, then he would, most assuredly, take his grandfather's revenge. This is the event of one day ; a certain Sikh brought a very beautiful dagger from some foreign country for the Guru ; the Guru, seeing its lustre and splendour and fine edge, was greatly pleased, and always kept that dagger by himself. One day, the Guru asked that Pathan, "O such and such a Khan ! from how many blows of this dagger would a man die ?" He replied, "One blow even of it would be ample." Again, the Guru said : "Well, if he, who killed your father and grandfather, were to come before you, and this dagger were in your hand, then say, what would you do to him ?" He, from hearing this speech, became very angry in his heart, and could make no reply. After a short time, the Guru fell asleep, and all the attendants retired to their respective homes. Then that Pathan, who had remained seated near the Guru, having looked around him, slowly took that dagger out of the Guru's hand, and

⁵⁸ Lit. "Nose cut" it being the custom in the East to punish offenders by cutting off their noses.

⁵⁹ i.e., a coward, for Pathans are brave but weavers are regarded as cowards.

said to himself, "To-day I will take the revenge of my grandfather from this infidel," then, having drawn the dagger from its sheath, he said the Bismillah, and plunged the dagger into the Guru's stomach. Then, thinking he was quite dead, he got up from there and ran away; but, as the Guru was not then dead, on seeing the wound of the dagger, he called out, "O Bhai Sikhs! I am dying"; all the disciples collected, and, having scoured the country in all direction, they caught and brought that Pathan to the Guru. To be brief, the Guru, having praised the bravery of that Pathan, let him go, and said to all those other people, who, from seeing the Guru's wound, had become very sad and thoughtful, "O Bhai Sikhs! why are you so thoughtful? this affair has been brought to pass by God. Behold! that Pathan did not kill me; but I, making him ashamed, myself roused him to kill me; do not you be sorrowful, rather be pleased with the Will of God." Afterwards, hearing this news, that the grandson of Painde Khan, Pathan, had stabbed the Guru, to take the revenge of his grandfather, King Nadir Shah of Dilli became greatly distressed; moreover, sending some of the royal physicians, he gave them strict injunctions "You must do your very best to cure Govind Singh." When the surgeons arrived near the Guru, then they sewed up all the wounds, and began to apply plaster and ointment. In a few days, all the wound healed up, and he obtained ease; one day the Guru fired an arrow at some game, and, as he pulled the bow with force, all the threads of that wound again broke, and the blood began to flow forth; the physicians, on seeing this his state, were much perplexed; they again applied many remedies, but he obtained no ease. The hakims, being helpless, returned to Dilli, and the Guru, seated in a palki, wandering about, went to the Dakkan. When he arrived at a city called Nader, in the Dakkan, then the Guru became very helpless from the pain of that wound; moreover, he said to his assembly, "O Bhai Sikhs! now I have no hope of my body remaining to me; it is therefore well, that we should now remain in this city. If my life shall leave me here, then it will be well, for, by reason of their being a city here, after my death, a wooden coffin and a shroud will be able to be obtained." The Sikhs remained there and found it difficult to leave him for any time. After they had stopped there some days, and no alleviation of the pain was obtained, then the Guru said to his disciples, "Do you now give some alms; there is no profit from medicines." On hearing this, the

Sikhs made a very huge feast, and, having prepared various kinds of food and edibles, fed the Brahmans and the good and holy; and they presented, in the way of alms, much ornaments and clothing. Then the Guru said to his Sikhs: "Now my body will quickly leave me; do you have the bier and coffin ready." The Sikhs, agreeably to the Guru's order, got every thing ready; and then they all, joining their hands, asked, "O True Guru! now that you adopted this way of proceeding, whom will you place on the seat of Guruship for our guidance?" The Guru said, "I shall not do as the former nine Gurus who preceeded me, and who, at the time of dying, appointed some other Guru to sit on the throne. I have made you and all my followers over to the embrace of the Immortal one; after my death, do all you people regard the book of the Granth Sahib, as your Guru; whatever you will ask, it will point out to you. If any of my disciples, be he shorn, or grow long hair, let him regard the Granth Sahib as the form of his Guru; and whatever disciple of mine has a desire to see me, let him offer up Karah Parsad to the value of a rupee and a quarter, or as much as he desire, and let him open the book of the Granth Sahib, and do obeisance, and he will obtain as much profit as if he had seen me." After this, the Guru gave various other kinds of counsels; as, for example: "O Bhai Sikhs; people of various kinds live in the world; but whoever is my disciple will take care not to mix with them. If any one, showing forth wonders and miracles, should wish to break up the religion of my disciples, then he must not be believed; and although any one might extract oil out of sand, and cause walls to gallop as horses, and show them to you, still this is your religion, that you should regard them as the play of Indrajal (juggling), and not believe them; for people will show you many curious sights to try and make a flaw in (break up) the Sikh religion; but do you always read and remember this verse with affection:

'O Lord! having given me Thy hand, do Thou keep me from roving.' "

After uttering these words, the Guru became much distressed; then the Sikhs made a funeral pyre of sandal wood, and, bringing all the requisities, placed them by him; and then they all began to worship the Wah-Guru. When a little while only was left to the Guru's death, then he said to his

disciples : "Do you, having bathed me, put on a clean suit of clothes, and do you at this time fasten on all my arms," and he added this also : "When my life leaves me, then do not take off these arms and clothes, but burn me with all my clothes and arms." Having said these words, he went and sat on the funeral pyre ; at that time, placing his thoughts on God, he gave utterance to this quatrain with his mouth, with much affection :

Quatrain

Since I seized Thy feet, I have brought nothing else
under (my) eye ;

O merciful Ram ! the Purans and the Kuran teach
various systems, but I did not regard one (of
them) ;

The Simriti, Sastras and Vedas, all teach many
modifications, but I did not heed any one (of
them) ;

O Dispenser of Happiness ! bestow mercy (on me) ;
I have not ever said 'I' ; I recognized all as Thee.—
(Trumpp's Adi Granth).

Having said these words, he closed his eyes, and in the year 1765 B.B. i.e., the year 1708 A.D., he departed this life. They say that, for many generations, there was a mark of leprosy on the feet of the Gurus. At that time, from all quarters, the sound of blowing of shells arose, and flowers began to rain down. All the disciples and holy men, who had collected from all parts having uttered the words : "Jai Jai Kar (victory, victory)" began to sing beautiful songs ; and many, filling their eyes with tears, began to weep and lament at separation from the Guru. In all quarters, all players on the rubab (a kind of harp) began to sound their instruments, and hundreds began to read the Granth Sahib. At that time, it appeared as if there was the rejoicing of heaven ; many holy and good men, becoming ascetics, withdrew at that time from worldly affairs ; and many, regarding the pleasures of this world as vain and false, gave their lives along with the Guru. Many people became martyrs there ; and many houses for fakirs were erected in that place. Amidst them all, they erected a shrine over the Guru, and, near his burying place, they made many other mausoleums and dharmshalas, and deposited Granth sahibs in them. The name of that city,

which was called Nader, was changed to Abchalnagar. In the present day, many Sikhs go there, and offer their oblations with much devotion. In that tomb, thousands of swords, shields, spears, and quoits, are to be found at all times; moreover the Sikhs, who go there, all worship those arms. The Sikhs believe this, that all those arms were formerly the property of Guru Govind Singh himself. All Sikhs eat whatever oblations are offered there in worship; moreover this also is a custom there, that if any one shall be put to great expense in going there, then the Sikhs there write to the Sikhs of other countries in the Gurumukhi character, and send a command to them to help them; and religious people, on seeing such a written command, offer whatever offerings they can to them. They have called the name of this written command, the Hukmnama (or letter of command); and the seal, which is attached to it, was, they say, the very seal of the hand of Guru Govind Singh himself; and in that seal there is written in the Gurumukhi character, "God is one; may there always be victory to my cauldron (offerings) and sword, and may the victory be without delay;⁶⁰ but victory to Nanak and Guru Govind Singh is only from the Help of the Immortal One." And if any serious quarrel break out among the Sikhs, it is also settled amongst them by a Hukmnama (issued) from there (Nader). Those, who are good and true Sikhs, never disobey what is written in a Hukmnama. Now this is a matter for reflection. Behold, what plays are performed in the world, and how many warriors, good, honourable, charitable, obstinate, and wealthy men have been born, and, in the end, all have been mixed in the dust. Is this world not a spectacle of a dream? whoever here, forgetting his death, for an instant stretches out his feet,⁶¹ is a great fool. From this effacing and making of the world, which God has settled, man gets this warning, that he should not fix his thoughts too highly on it, and should not, all his life long, be filled with anxiety and thought about it; for if any one, even after much thought, collects together a little in the world, still he himself will not always remain here.

⁶⁰ i.e., may neither the religious devotion, nor the martial spirit of my followers ever decrease, but ever be crowned with success, and be on the increase.

⁶¹ i.e., lives in a state of carelessness and regards not God and the day of his death.

CHAPTER XI

RELATING THE EVENTS FROM THE TIME OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH TO THE ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH

The names of the twelve Misals

It was quite necessary, that I should, in this place, write the circumstances of Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; but I will not do so (at once) as I must (first) briefly relate how the Sikhs flourished after Guru Govind Singh, and who obtained the chiefship among them ; accordingly I will first write about the twelve Misals or divisions⁶² of the Sikhs. When Guru Govind Singh's body left him, then for some days, several of his special disciples kept the assemblies under their hands, but after some time, when the assemblies had become unmanageable, then, for some reason or other, a certain Bairagi saint took the Sikh baptism. He was exceedingly clever and wise, so that, by his wisdom, he collected together all the old Sikhs and made them into one body ; moreover it so happened, that, as the Sikhs had collected with him in many thousands, for this reason, they created much disturbance ; the name of that Bairagi was formerly something else, but afterwards in the Sikh Khalsa, his name, for some reason or other, became known as Banda. On one occasion, that Sikh, named Banda, committing violence and robbery, arrived in the district of Sialkot ; when they reached that district, the Sikhs began to rob the goods of the Musalmans, and then again a great quarrel arose between them ; at last, after some fighting, that Banda, taking many Sikhs with him, went to the hills, and the hill kings also, as they did not behave well to him, suffered much distress at his hands ; but at last, one hill chief, by some stratagem or device, having caught him with several hundred Sikhs, sent him to the Governor of Dilli. As the occupants of the throne of Dilli at that time were of very hard disposition, and were especially angry with the sect of the Sikhs, they were much pleased at the capture of Banda. At that time, a king, named Farukh Siar, was seated on the throne of Dilli ; he caused Banda, with all those Sikhs, who were with him at

⁶² Misal really signifies "dependency to a chief, or petty ruler, who is under the authority of a Raja."

that time, to be put to death, and further gave orders, that wherever any of their sect was found, he was to be caught, and brought to him, for he wished to efface their seed from off the earth. When the Sikhs heard that their chief, named Banda, had been killed, and an order had been issued by the king to seize all Sikhs and take them to him, then, leaving their houses and families, some began to wander about in the jungles; and others, taking their households with them, went and hid in the mountains; and others, finding huts in the deserts, went and took up their abode in them. In the meanwhile, Farukh Siar, having reigned but two, or two and a half, years, died, and after him, his son, Jahandar Shah, obtained the throne. The Sikhs, after this, for some years continued wandering about begging, and in wretched circumstances; for this reason, in those days, their sect greatly diminished; and wherever the Sikhs, even thus despised, lived, there they supported themselves secretly with much difficulty. One day, a Birak Jatt named Kapura, who had a quarrel with his own brothers, came from a village named Singhpura, which is in the district of Tarantaran, and put up in the hut of a certain Sikh; that Sikh, taking pity on his poverty, kept him with himself for some time. When some days had passed, then the Sikh said to him; "It would be a very good thing if you were to be baptized." Kapura, on hearing this speech, was baptized as a Sikh, and from that day, his name was called Kapur Singh. When that Kapur Singh had remained there for some time, many Sikhs, seeing his religious habits, collected around him, (and this) in such numbers that all, who lived in the neighbouring villages and jungles, regarding Kapur Singh as their lord, joined him. When 2,000 or 3,000 Sikhs had assembled, then Kapur Singh thought it advisable to rob the neighbouring villages and bring them under his power, as there was no one to prevent him; for in those days, after the death of King Farukh Siar, a great dispute had arisen about the kingship, and no one had as yet been permanently seated on the throne, and Kapur Singh perceived that, by reason of the dispute, no one would pay any attention to him. Having thus thought, he first came and attacked the village of his birthplace, which was then known as Fajullapur. Having killed the Lambardar (land steward) of that place, he brought it into his own possession. The name of that village was formerly known as Fajullapur from the name of Nawab Fajulla Beg; when Kapur Singh took it, then he called the name of that village

Singhpura, and, from the name of that village, the chiefs of one of the twelve misals, of which I shall afterwards make mention, were called Singhpuras. When the renown of Kapur Singh had somewhat increased, then many people came and were baptized by him as Sikhs; moreover, Sardar Jassa Singh, who was the ancestor of the Ahluwalias, was also baptized by him. Afterwards, when Kapur Singh had baptized several people, and gained the affection of vast numbers, and had collected many with himself, then, in other places also, other Sikhs set themselves up as Sardars (chiefs); their names will, in due course, be found in the misals. In short, whenever any one wished, then, having collected a small throng, they set themselves up as chiefs.

When Kapur Singh's renown increased more and more⁶³ every day, then, from seeing it, others also set themselves up as chiefs; accordingly, there arose twelve misals, called after those chiefs; although I might trace the origin of these all from Kapur Singh, still, as they got their names from some other (chiefs), I shall therefore write about them hereafter.

The names of the twelve misals :—

1st	the misal of the	Bhangis.	7th	the misal of the	Sahids.
2nd	" "	Ramgaris.	8th	" "	Phulkias.
3rd	" "	Ghanis.	9th	" "	Nagrias.
4th	" "	Ahluwalias.	10th	" "	Dalalias.
5th	" "	Sukar Chakkias.	11th	" "	Karorias.
6th	" "	Fajullapurias.	12th	" "	Nisanwalis.

⁶³ Lit. Had become one and a quarter.

CHAPTER XII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISALS OR CLASS

1. This is the account of the Bhangis; amongst them there were three noted chiefs, Hari Singh, Jhanda Singh, and Ganda Singh. The three were Jatts by caste, and inhabitants of a village named Panjbar; 10,000 or 12,000 troopers always remained with them, and Lahaur and Anmrtsar and Gujrat were in their possession. As the chiefs of this misal took much Bhang, therefore they were called Bhangis; and whatever they did was said to be done by the Bhangis. Another reason of their being called Bhangis was this; that, being very abject, they performed service to the sect, and therefore the rest gave them the name of Bhangis.

2. They relate the circumstances of the Ramgaris as follows; their ancestor was named Jassa Singh, and was by caste a carpenter, and his old home was in a village named Ramgar, in the district of Anmrtsar. He, by some means or other, collected two, or two and a half, thousand troopers with him, and always committed inroads, and inflicted oppression on the neighbouring villages; moreover, he, by his wisdom, brought into his power the country of Shri Har Govindpur and Kadi, which is in Watala, and always had the hope (desire) of increasing his possessions. As this chief was formerly the resident of Ramgar, therefore the name of the misal was called Ramgari.

3. This is the true account of the Ghanis; their ancestor was by caste a Jatt, named Jai Singh; as this chief was a resident of a village named Kahna, therefore the name of his misal was called Kahniya; some also say this, that their name was called Ghani for this reason, that Sardar Jai Singh was of a pleasing appearance, and was one day seated with a number of Sikhs, when a Sikh asked him, "Bhai! where is your home?" He replied, "In a village named Kahna." Then that Sikh said, "Yes Bhai, it is correct; as you are an inhabitant of Kahna, therefore your appearance is pleasing like Kan, i.e., like Krisn;" he further said, "Kanji is also called Ghaniaji; therefore your name also is Ghania"; and, from that day every body began to call his misal the Ghanias. Seven or eight thousand troopers used also to remain with him, and the cities of Watala, Dinanagar, Kahnuwan, Sujanpur, Lohian and Fategar, Kalanaur, &c., were in his possession. Amongst these Ghanis, the most celebrated chiefs were the following, viz. :—Jai Singh, Khajan

Singh, Fate Singh, Chaman Singh, Gurbakhs Singh, Hakikat Singh; all these chiefs were called Ghanis.

4. The account of the Ahluwalis is given as follows: their ancestor was called Jassa Singh, and was by caste a Kalal (distiller); and as this chief was of old an inhabitant of a village named Ahluwala, therefore the name of his misal was called Ahluwali. About four thousand troopers always remained with him, and Jagraman, Isru, Phagwara, Kapurthala, Fatiabad, Tarantaran, Wairowal, &c., were subject to him. As this chief was very firm in the Sikh religion, many Sikhs and chiefs were baptized by him.

5. The account of the Sukkarchakkis is reported as follows; the name of their ancestor was Sardar Charat Singh. The Sardar was by caste a Jatt, and by family a Sahansi; and, from his offspring, Maharajah Ranjit Singh, whose account will be afterwards written at full length, was born. As that Sardar Charat Singh was an inhabitant of a village named Sukkarchakk, therefore the name of his misal was called Sukkarchakki. Ten or eleven thousand troopers always remained with that Charat Singh, and the whole of the district of Sakkarchakk was subservient to him.

6. The account of the Fajullapuris is as follows: the name of their ancestor was Nawab Kapur Singh, and this was that same Kapur Singh, who, after the death of Banda, revived afresh the Sikh religion, which had greatly waned, and, himself, having been baptized, baptized thousands of Sikhs, and, having brought the neighbouring villages under his power, set up the standard of royalty. This chief by caste was a Jatt, and an inhabitant of the village Fajullapur; and, as he was an inhabitant of Fajullapur, his misal was therefore called the Fajullapuris; about three thousand troops always remained with him.

7. The account of the Sahids is as follows: their ancestors were Sardar Gurbakhs Singh, and Karam Singh; about seven or eight thousand troopers always remained with them, and the country to the east of the Satluj was under their control. As amongst their ancestors, several persons became martyrs for the sake of their religion, for this reason, the name of their misal was called Sahids (martyrs); and some people also say this, that their two chiefs, on one occasion for the sake of their religion, were prepared to give their heads, and for this reason the Khalsaji called them Sahids; for this reason, this rank was bestowed on them, and the name of their misal also was known as the misal of the Sahids (or martyrs).

8. The account of the Phulkias is thus given : their ancestor was Ala Singh, by caste a Jatt. This chief was an inhabitant of Patiala, and he kept up an army of about six or seven thousand strong always with him. As the name of some ancestor of this Ala Singh was Phul (Singh), therefore the name of the misal was called the Phulkiwala.

9. They thus relate the circumstances of the Nagaris, the name of their ancestor is not known, but the misal was called Nagaris for this reason, that their chief lived in a village named Nagari, which is in a district of Multan, and therefore the name of the misal is known as the Nagaris. A body of about two, or two and a half, thousand troopers used always to remain with him, but there is nothing known of his caste or place of residence.

10. The account of the Dalialias is given as follows : their ancestor was known as Sardar Tara Singh, and this Sardar was by caste a Kanjh Jatt, and an army of about seven thousand troops always remained with him. As this chief was an inhabitant of the village Dalli, which is on the banks of the river Ravi, therefore the name of the misal is known as the Dalialis.

11. The circumstances of the Karoris are narrated as follows ; their ancestors were Sardar Godar Singh and Baghel Singh, who, by caste, were Jatts, and they always kept up an army of about eleven thousand men. Although they were originally inhabitants of another place, still, afterwards, they took up their abode in the cities of Nakodar and Talwan. If you wish to have the particulars of this misal in full, you must read the book called Gulsan Panjab.

12. The account of the Nisanwalis is this : their ancestors were Sangat Singh and Mohar Singh, who, by caste were Jatts, and they were, of old, inhabitants of a place Sahawad. A body of about ten thousand troops always remained with them ; Ambala, Thanesur, Karnal, and the other neighbouring districts, were subservient to them.

In this way, these twelve misals of the Sikhs, which were respectively known in this land by the names of their chiefs, remained bearing enmity to, and fighting with, each other. Often one misal, having fought with another, conquered it, and took their country into its possession ; and, afterwards, it also lost its country, and restored it to the former owner. In short, until the renown of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was spread, till then they remained fighting with each other.

CHAPTER XIII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RISE OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

When Sardar Maha Singh conquered the fort of Rasulnagar, then, two years afterwards, on the 2nd of the month of November A.D. 1780, a son was born in his house. Maha Singh, with much joy, having summoned the Pandats and priests, called the name of that child Ranjit Singh. When Ranjit Singh had grown up a little, then small-pox broke out on him so severely, that no one scarcely had any hope of his living. Although God preserved his life from the small-pox itself, still he lost one of his eyes from it. Sardar Maha Singh, at the time of that illness, gave much of his goods and chattels and wealth to Brahmans and poor people, and sent various kinds of clothes and jewels to the goddess of Jwala Mukhi and Kot Kangra. When Ranjit Singh had grown up a little more, then a widow, named Sada Kor, who was the wife of a chief, gave her daughter, named Pratap Kor, in marriage to Ranjit Singh. After a time, in the year 1792 A.D., Maha Singh became ill and died, aged 27 years, at a city named Gujranwala. When Ranjit Singh had obtained leisure from his funeral obsequies, then, during the month Chet, he succeeded to the seat of his father. As, at that time, he was only twelve years of age, for this reason, he was not fit for the business of government; and although he was at that time seated on the throne of the kingdom, still his mother did not approve of his conducting the affairs of the kingdom. When he reached seventeen years of age, then, by the mercy of God, every one, of their own accord, became subservient to him. Accordingly, in the year 1796, a king, named Shah Zaman, who ascended the throne after the death of Taimur Shah, setting forth from Khurasan, came to the Panjab. As no chief opposed him, he entered Lahaur through open gates. Having come to Lahaur, and seeing that the Panjab could not, for many reasons, be controlled by him, he returned back. Afterwards he said to the Chief of his Ordnance, named Sahanchi: "Do you efface the name and trace of the Sikhs." On this, he, taking some artillery with him, attacked Ramnagar, but the Khalsa fought well with them; from that day moreover, the dread of the Pathans were entirely removed from the hearts of the Sikhs. As, at that time, the renown of

Maharaja Ranjit Singh was daily on the increase, many people, from seeing it, became very jealous at heart.

Ranjit Singh fought with a tribe of people, named Chatthas, who had set themselves up as rulers on the banks of the river Jhanai; their chief was Hasmat Khan. This chief was, from the first, the enemy of Ranjit Singh, and he had this idea always in his heart, that if, by any means, Ranjit Singh should fall into his hands, he would kill him. Once, Ranjit Singh, with a small army, alighted in his country. That Pathan, having caught Ranjit Singh out shooting, struck at him with his sword, but Ranjit Singh, with much dexterity, warded off the blow of the sword; and then Ranjit Singh, becoming very angry, struck at him with a sword, and his body was cut in two. After his death, all that country which was in the possession of Hasmat Khan, came into the hands of Ranjit Singh.

His second fight was at Miani. The circumstances of it are as follows: Ranjit Singh's mother-in-law, Sada Kor, reported that the chiefs of the Ramgaris gave her much trouble; and, as she had not the power to fight with them, she wished him to help her. Ranjit Singh, on hearing this, went to the fort of Miani, which was the place of abode of Jassa Singh, the Ramgari; but as, at that time, Ranjit Singh had not the proper means of conquering a strong fort, therefore the fight lasted for a long time. In the meantime, a great flood of the river Jhanai (the Chinab) took place, and the water filled that fort; as the Sikhs were unable to cross it, they were obliged to go back. Sada Kor got up this war for this reason, that Jassa Singh, Ramgari, had killed her husband, Gurbakhs Singh, in a fight.

In the year 1855 B. B. in the month Poh, Shah Zaman again came to Lahaur, and as on Sikh chief opposed him, he entered Lahaur without any fighting. At that time Ranjit Singh was at Ramnagar; although Shah Zaman remained four months at Lahaur, Ranjit Singh used often to attack the fort, and, under cover of the bastions, killed many of the Mughals. At last, Shah Zaman returned to his own country; on the way, as he was crossing the river Jhanai (Chinab), twelve of his guns were lost in the river. The king sent word to Ranjit Singh: "If you will get out my guns and send them to me, then, in return for it, I will give you Lahaur." Ranjit Singh, after great efforts, got out eight of the guns, and sent them to the king. The king, agreeably to his promise, gave

Lahaur to Ranjit Singh, and he immediately took possession of it.

When the days of any one are good,
Wealth wanders around him;
When evil days begin to come, brother!
All happiness even becomes pain-giving.
Listen to the story of Maha Singh⁶⁴;
He was a man of no reputation;
Wherever he showed his face⁶⁵,
He took the country, but suffered trouble
(in doing so).

But when Ranjit Singh was born,
Then God Himself made him great;
Without trouble, he obtained the kingship,
And, without effort, he got greatness;
Whomever God Himself exalts,
That man, day by day, increases;
No one will be able to do him harm,
If God is his protection.

Afterwards when all the chiefs of Lahaur, and many Rajas and Ranas of the neighbouring countries, had become subservient to Ranjit Singh, then, after a few days, in the year 1802 A. D., a son was born in the house of Ranjit Singh, of his Queen Raj Kor; and, agreeably to the command of the Pandats, his name was called Kharak Singh.

As at that time quarrels were going on between Hamayun, Mahmud, Shah Zaman, Sahsujaul and the other kings of Kabul, Ranjit Singh, in the year 1804 A. D., invaded the districts on the banks of the river Atak, and when he had beaten all the chiefs of those parts, and had taken tribute from the ruler of Multan, named Mujaffar Khan, he returned to Lahaur. Afterwards, in the year 1805, A. D., he went to bathe in the holy Ganges, and, after having bathed, again returned to Lahaur.

Afterwards Ranjit Singh began to harass those chiefs, whose countries lay between the rivers Satluj and Jamma, and, having come to Ambala, gave some of this country to the chiefs of Kaithal and Nabha, and then, having levied a tax on Thanesur, again came to Anmritsar.

Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had come on the part of the

⁶⁴ The father of Ranjit Singh.

⁶⁵ Lit. "Forehead."

English to Ranjit Singh, said to him,—“This is the desire of the English Government, that you should fix the Satluj as the boundary of your country.” Ranjit Singh at first did not agree to this, but afterwards, having seen somewhat of the power of the English, he agreed; and the English agreed to this also, that they would also not interfere with the villages, which were north of the Satluj. On one occasion, when Ranjit Singh, at Anmritsar, saw a parade of the English army, then he was greatly pleased; moreover, from that very day, he began to drill his own army also after the English fashion.

Again, in the year 1809 A. D., in the month of May, the army of Ranjit Singh set out for the fort of Kangra, for a Gorkhiya, named Amar Singh, had, at that time, surrounded the fort at that place; and for this reason, the king of that place had asked help of Ranjit Singh; when the army of the Sikhs reached Kangra, then the Raja Sansar Chand would not allow them to come into the fort. The Sikhs, on hearing this, with much bravery, broke into the gate of the fort, and, entering, took possession of the fortress. On hearing this, Amar Singh retreated to his own country.

Again, when in the year 1810 A. D., King Sujaul, having been turned out by his brother Muhammad Shah, fled from the country of Kabul, and came to Lahaur, then Maharaja Ranjit Singh received him in a very kind way, on the 3rd of January, and met him in a very friendly manner. Afterwards the king departed to Raul Pindi, to meet his brother Shah Zaman, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh went to Multan to settle something with Mujaffar Khan. Ranjit Singh demanded three lakhs of rupees from him, and he, being helpless, wrote an agreement to give one lakh and eighty thousand. Ranjit Singh then returned to Lahaur, and, day by day, having conquered the kings and chiefs of the neighbouring countries, confiscated their territories, and whoever opposed him, he took prisoner and sent to Lahaur.

Afterwards, in the middle of the year 1818 A. D., Maharaja Ranjit Singh married his son, Kharak Singh, to the daughter of Jaimul Singh, the Ghaniya, at Lahaur. That wedding was performed with much pomp and grandeur, and the renown thereof was spread through all the neighbouring countries.

After this, when the state of the Pathans of Kabul had become somewhat upset, then Ranjit Singh, having collected a very large army, went and invaded the country on the other

side of the Atak. Having gone there and subdued Khairabad and other forts, he entered the city of Pasaur. Yar Muhammad Khan, who was the governor of that place, was not able to oppose the army of the Sikhs; moreover, quietly leaving Pasaur empty, he fled away. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, having stopped there a short time, made Jahandad Khan the ruler of it, and himself marched to Lahaur. After Ranjit Singh had returned from there, that same Yar Muhammad Khan, getting assistance from his people, again attacked Pasaur; as, at that time, Jahandad Khan had no army or materials of war ready, he was unable to oppose Yar Muhammad Khan, who, having driven Jahandad Khan from Pasaur, himself again took possession of it.

Verses

The story of this world is very curious;
Do you all give your hearts, and listen, O men!
God has made a play,
At seeing which, all are astonished, O brothers!
Behold the wonderful play of the world!
A tola is turned into a masa,
Again, sometimes, that which was a masa,
It becomes turned into a tola;⁶⁶
Sometimes, the afflicted become happy,
And, sometimes, the happy become afflicted;
He can turn a grain of mustard seed into a mountain,
And can place an umbrella on the head of a worm;⁶⁷
All the grief and happiness, which are in it,
They never remain the same;
Kings sometimes become poor,
And the poor often become rulers of the world.

Distich

Behold! Muhammad Yar Khan was the ruler of
Pasaur;
And Jahandad Khan turned him off his throne.

Verses

Again when it pleased God,
Jahandad Khan was turned off:

⁶⁶ i.e., sometimes the rich become poor, and again he, who was poor, becomes rich.

A masa is the twelfth part of a tola.

⁶⁷ An umbrella was formerly a sign of royalty, and a worm being a very insignificant thing, the meaning is, God can, if He will, place a crown on the meanest of His creatures.

And that same Yar Muhammad Khan,
He again became ruler.
Now those persons, who are wise,
Never weep at undergoing trouble,
But show firmness in their hearts,
So that should trouble come, it may be removed.
One's days will not remain the same,
And excessive trouble will not always continue ;
If God shows you trouble,
He will, of Himself, again bring you joy.
O people ! place your hopes on Him ;
He will order all your affairs aright ;
Whoever does not place reliance on Him,
That person is a fool, devoid of understanding.

When Muhammad Yar Khan had driven Jahandad Khan from Pasaur, then the latter again came to Lahaur to Maharaja Ranjit Singh ; and when Muhammad Yar Khan also saw that perfect tranquillity was not to be had there, departing from Pasaur, he went to Barat.

Afterwards, in the year 1819 A.D. in the month of April, Maharaja Ranjit Singh took counsel how he might conquer Kasmir. Having thus thought, he sent an army with Missar Diwan Chand and despatched him to the hills ; and having placed another army under the command of his son, Kharak Singh to help the former, he sent him after Missar Diwan Chand. Those armies went to the mountains to conquer Kasmir, but Maharaja Ranjit Singh remained in the Panjab, to arrange about sending them supplies, and to watch over the Panjab. When the army of the Sikhs arrived in the hills, then a very great fight ensued with the Pathans, and, in the fight, about a thousand Sikhs, and five or six chiefs also, were killed, and of the other side, a large number also were slain. When the news of this fight reached Ajim Khan, that many Pathans had been killed, then he, departing from Kasmir, went and resided at Jalalawad.

Afterwards, Ranjit Singh went to Pasaur, and there Muhammad Yar Khan, presenting himself before him, petitioned : "If you will give Pasaur to me, then I will continue paying tribute to you ; moreover, whatever revenue shall come in, I will send it to you to Lahaur in full." Ranjit Singh, having accepted his request, made over Pasaur to him, and, having taken a written agreement signed by his hand, returned to Lahaur.

Shortly afterwards, Ajim Khan died, and the Pathans again created great tumult. Maharaja Ranjit Singh himself went, and settled that dispute, and then returned to Lahaur.

In the year 1826 A.D., the Nawab Sadik Muhammad Khan, who was the ruler of Bahaulpur, died, and his son, Bahaul Khan, ascended the throne, and ratified whatever his father and grandfather had promised to Maharaja Ranjit Singh.

Afterwards, a person, named Saiad Mahamdi, set up a Muhammadan flag in the hills, and incited the Musalman by these words; "It behoves us to slay these infidel Sikhs agreeably to the orders of our prophets." When the Musalmans began making a tumult, then the Maharaja, having sent an army across the Atak, severely punished Saiad Mahamdi.

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh had conquered all the hills, then he gave the fort of Jammu to Gulab Singh and Suchet Singh. At that time Dhian Singh, the brother of the ruler of Jammu, was superintendent of the threshold of Ranjit Singh, and as Ranjit Singh loved his son, Hira Singh, very much, he therefore gave him the rank of Raja, and Ranjit Singh always wished this in his heart, that he might marry Hira Singh to some girl of high caste. On one occasion, Anrudh Chand, the son of Raja Sansar Chand, was going to a marriage of the Ahluwalis at Kapurthala; on the road he had occasion to stop at Lahaur, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent for him, and, by some means or other, got him to write that he would marry his two sisters agreeably to the commands of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. When his grandmother heard this, then she, taking those two girls with her, went and lived in those hills, which were in the possession of the English. Again, after a short time Raja Anrudh Chand also fled, and Maharaja Ranjit Singh took all his country into his own possession, and drove his brother Fate Chand out of it.

On one occasion, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, having had made a very large tent of pusmina (wool of goats' hair), sent it as an offering to England for the king; then the king of the English on seeing it, was greatly pleased; moreover, in return for it, he sent four very beautiful mares and a horse to be given to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Maharaja received the agent, who brought them, with much courtesy; after having remained some days in Lahaur, that gentleman, who had brought the horses from England, went to the Hill of Simla to meet Mr. (Lord) William Bentinck, who was the

Governor-General of India, and told the circumstances of his arrival to the Governor-General. On this, the Governor-General wished that, by some means or other, he also might meet Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The Governor-General wrote to Captain Wade to, by some means, bring Ranjit Singh to Ludihana, for him to have an interview with him. The Maharaja, having sent his minister, Moti Ram and Sardar Hari Singh and Fakir Aji Din to the Governor-General, stated that he would meet him at Ropar, which is on the banks of the river Satluj. The Governor-General, on the 22nd October 1831, came to Ropar, and the Maharaja also arrived at Ropar on the 25th of that month. At that time, there were with the Maharaja about 10,000 troopers, and 6,000 footmen. The Governor-General, having heard of the arrival of the Maharaja, sent his Agent and Secretary to pay his respects to Maharaja Ranjit Singh; and then, Ranjit Singh, having sent his son Kharak Singh, and six or seven chiefs of very high position to the Governor-General, said that he would assuredly come in the morning and see him. Next day, when the Maharaja was ready for the interview, then, before his own departure, he despatched 3,000 regular troopers, and also sent 800 irregular cavalry; and after them, he despatched his chiefs seated on elephants, and then himself set forth after them all. When he had arrived very near the tents, then they both met; moreover both of them, seated on their elephants, proceeded to the tents. The Governor-General gave many curiosities, and various kinds of presents, to the Maharaja and his son, and the other chiefs; and then the Maharaja returned to his own tent. Next day, the Governor-General went to the Maharaja's tent to visit him. All the chiefs presented offerings to the Governor-General, and the Maharaja also gave many valuable horses, with gold and silver trappings, and other curiosities to the Governor-General. Then there was a review of the Maharaja's, and the English, armies. Ranjit Singh, seeing the smartness and dexterity of the English army, was much pleased. That same evening, they met for the last time (i.e., to say good bye), and, that very day, the Governor-General gave the Maharaja a present of an iron bridge. Next day, both rulers departed to their own countries.

Afterwards, when in the year 1838, A.D., the English invaded Kabul, the Maharaja Ranjit Singh sent 6,000 of his army to help them. When the army arrived in Kabul, but before the expedition had accomplished (its object), Maharaja

Ranjit Singh, who before had been very ill, accomplished (his years of life) in the year 1839.

Couplet

The great, who, in this world, sit with their legs stretched out.
In the end, death seizes them, and kills them in a short while.

Verses

Those, who come into the inn of the world,
Are not allowed to stop in it for ever ;
The very great, kings, and the proud,
The wise, the skilful, and the powerful,
All live but four days,
And then the tents of all are (got ready for)
the march ;
The drum of marching is always sounding,
And none can manage to stop here ;
Now this is becoming to every one,
That they should regard the pleasures of the
world as false ;
For its wealth, riches, joys and pleasures are
all delusive ;
Its possessions, lands, and titles, are all vain ;
Those, who live here sorrowful,
Do not hope to remain here always,
And therefore do not get dried up with grief,
For they only are grieved, who are in love with it
(the world).
Who can make himself great ?
Verily I am happy, for grief burns me not⁶⁸ ;
And, if for sometime I am happy,
(I know) in the end death will take away all my
pleasure.

Couplet

Accomplish the journey through this world well ;
It is not good for one to remain fearless in it,
therefore draw near to God.

After the death of Ranjit Singh, many Ranis performed satti and great grief arose in the Panjab, and the walls, as it were, appeared to be weeping. After him Raja Dhian, by his

⁶⁸ Lit.—“is just like mustard to me.”

sagacity, kept the kingdom so well in control, that one should really regard him as the master of the kingdom. Ranjit Singh, whilst he was alive, allowed him such immense power, that sometimes he prevented the princes Kharak Singh and Sher Singh, who were the sons of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, from coming into the palace; he also implanted the idea in the king's mind, that, as Kharak Singh was a great fool, and mad, for this reason, he was not fit for the kingdom; and regarding Sher Singh, he raised this doubt in the Maharaja's mind, that he was not his own son. As there was no hindrance (offered to it), Dhian Singh used to go into the female apartments, and, for this reason all the queens used to be much afraid of him; and as Hira Singh, the son of this Dhian Singh always remained with the king, from this fear, the queens were not able to tell their griefs to the Maharaja. Up to the time of the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, he had such great power in the management of the affairs of the kingdom, that he could do what he pleased.

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh was dying, then, having called his son Kharak Singh, he made him over to the care of his minister, Dhian Singh, saying: "Dhian Singh; you are my true minister and the protector of the Raj; so, in return for the kindness and obligations I have conferred on you during my whole life, do you keep this my son, Kharak Singh, happy. Never commit perfidy, nor be false to your salt, nor deal badly with him, and always regard him as in my place."

CHAPTER XIV

DESCRIPTION OF THE CHARACTER OF RANJIT SINGH

Ranjit Singh was not at all literate, yet nevertheless, he used to sit and himself listen to the business pertaining to the government, and whatever he perfectly understood, on that, after reflection and thought, he passed his written orders; when the order had been written, then he used to hear it a second time, and reflect on it; so that he might see that the scribe had not at all changed his order in writing it. In his very childhood even, he was very generous, and used to give many presents to his attendants and others. Whatever urgent matters came into his mind in the night time, he used at once to have them written down, so that he might not forget them, and when he went to sleep at night, he used to think over all important affairs, so that his kingdom might flourish; he, by the quickness of his understanding, and the goodness of his memory, had this wonderful power, that, by looking at the face of a person, he used to be able to tell his sagacity, ability and goodness; he was a man of very medium size, and was blind of one eye, as the marks of small-pox were on his face, for this reason, his countenance was somewhat spoilt; but owing to his long beard, which reached to his navel, it did not show so much, and his face looked filled up and handsome. He used to laugh a great deal with people, and talk openly to them, so that people used to get drowned in their affection for him, and, seated in his society, used to tell him the secrets of their hearts. He was very fond of riding on horseback, and, in his old age even, he used to ride on horseback, after being helped on his horse by others. He knew many stratagems and manœuvres of warfare and used to beat his enemies principally by these stratagems and manœuvres. Although, in his youth he was very athletic and strong, in his old age he became very feeble. He was of a very plain simple disposition, and, for the sake of setting off his durbars, he ordered his attendants, that they were all to come to his durbars dressed in diamonds, pearls, and jewels. Some people say that he aged, and became old and feeble, owing to his drinking so much wine. He had a great desire to advance his religion, and was himself most firm in the Sikh doctrines, and used for a long time together to listen to the Granth. He himself

carried on a traffic in shawls and salt, and used never to do any thing without first consulting his (Brahman) astronomers and (Hindu) astrologers. At an early period of his life, when he was thirteen years old, on his ascending the throne, this base deed was done by him, namely, that he turned out of office the minister named Lakha, who had been the minister of his father, and sent him on an expedition to Katas, where the unfortunate creature died. People had informed Ranjit Singh that this minister had an intrigue with his mother, and he therefore, had poison administered to his mother, and had her killed also.

CHAPTER XV

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF MAHARAJA KHARAK SINGH

After Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Kharak Singh ascended the throne; as he knew well the disposition of his minister Dhian Singh, he, first of all, for the sake of diminishing his power, said to him that he was not to go into the royal female apartments; and he moreover said, "Do not be angry with me for this, for I will not allow your power and authority to be decreased any further." Dhian Singh, on hearing this, took great offence at it at heart; moreover such a difference sprung up between those two from that very day, that very great enmity arose between them.

Some days after a man, named Chet Singh, who was a favourite of Kharak Singh's, said to Kharak Singh, that the minister Dhian Singh gives out that, until he obtains the full powers he formerly had, he will not conduct the duties of minister properly; and, with many other such like reports, he turned Kharak Singh against the minister.

When Dhian Singh saw that Kharak Singh would give him much trouble, then he devised this plan for his own safety; he gave it out everywhere, that Kharak Singh and Chet Singh had made an agreement with the English, and that, from fear of them, they had agreed to pay six-sixteenths of the revenue to them, and, therefore, he would soon dismiss the army and all the officers and chiefs. This report was spread throughout Lahaur, and the Khalsa began to treat Kharak Singh with indifference. After this, Dhian Singh called the Prince Nau Nihal Singh from Pasaur, and Raja Gulab Singh also entered Lahaur in company with him.

The minister, and his brother Gulab Singh, misled Nau Nihal Singh and his mother and Kharak Singh, and obtained an order to put Chet Singh to death. Prince Nau Nihal, and his mother, further said, "Seize Maharaja Kharak Singh, and, by some other means, depose him from the government."

They caused many spurious letters, sealed with the seal of Kharak Singh to be written, and showed them to Nau Nihal Singh and his mother, saying, "Behold, he is writing these letters, and making terms with the English." The mother of Nau Nihal Singh, on hearing the name of the English, was greatly terrified, and deemed it advisable to imprison her husband (Kharak Singh).

When this had been fully determined on, then the minister, Dhian Singh, and his brother, two watches before the break of day, entered the fort and got into that room, where Maharaja Kharak Singh used to sleep, and, having killed Chet Singh, made Kharak Singh prisoner. When the day broke, having imprisoned Kharak Singh in the fort, they seated his son Nau Nihal Singh on the throne.

CHAPTER XVI

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF NAU NIHAL SINGH

After a few days, Dhian Singh sent some holy men, Brahmans and astrologers to Nau Nihal Singh to gladden his heart, and, they said thus to him, "O Maharaja; in a short time, all from Lahaur to Dilli and Banaras will be your kingdom"; and, in this way, Dhian Singh attached the spirit of the prince (to himself), and raised suspicions in his mind regarding Kharak Singh; and through his instigation, he became so irate against Kharak Singh that, if any one mentioned his name in Durbar, then he would begin to abuse him.

Again after a few days Dhian Singh gave out that the Maharaja Kharak Singh was very ill, and himself appointed some wonderful physicians for him, who right well cured that helpless creature; that is to say, agreeably to the bidding of Dhian Singh, they gave him a power of a very deadly poison, from which he died in the month of November A. D. 1840:

At that time, Nau Nihal Singh, for some reason or other, was not in Lahaur. Maharaja Kharak Singh remembered him and said, "Bring Nau Nihal Singh to me, that I may forgive him my blood"; from this, it appears that he believed that his son Nau Nihal Singh had imprisoned and killed him.

When Nau Nihal Singh arrived in Lahaur after the death of his father, then he asked, "Did my father remember me at the time of his death or not?" Dhian Singh replied, "As he was mad at the time of his death, therefore what issued from his mouth is not fit to be told, for he abused you badly." Alas! alas! that that sinner Dhian Singh not only created such enmity between Kharak Singh and Nau Nihal Singh, that, whilst he (Kharak Singh) was alive, they kept aloof one from the other, but he also turned him (Nau Nihal Singh) against his father even after his death. Nau Nihal Singh himself came and burned his father, and performed all the funeral obsequies (laid down) by his religion. Having finished all the obsequies, he came to the city; and many Sikh chiefs were with him, the most distinguished of whom was Udham Singh, the eldest son of Raja Gulab Singh. These were coming along with Nau Nihal Singh and, when they arrived at the gate of the city, the lintel of the gateway suddenly gave way, and Udham Singh was, by its fall, killed on the spot, and Nau Nihal Singh was placed in a palki and brought to Dhian Singh in the fort. It is not known why that palki had been placed there⁶⁹; when he had been taken inside the fort, then the gate of the fort was closed, and an order given that no one was to be allowed to enter. Although Lahina Singh, Majithiya, and other chiefs, wished greatly to go in with the palki, Dhian Singh would not let any one in. Moreover, leaving the chiefs out of the question, his mother and brother even, when they came to enquire after him, were stopped at the gate. At that time, much lamentation and crying and weeping arose at the gate, but that sinner Dhian Singh, although he heard all their grief, would not let any one in. After a little while, all the chiefs, being helpless, returned to their own homes; then, when Nau Nihal Singh had died, Dhian Singh furtively came to his mother, and said; "Your son is now dead, but if you make this known at once, then the Sikhs will create great havoc in the kingdom; this, therefore, is my advice, that, at present, you should keep this matter secret, and that you yourself should sit on the throne, and I will make all the people obey your orders." In short, having thus advised her, he went to his own house, and, having called all the principal officers, told them the whole circumstances, and gave them very strict instructions that, at present, no one was to allow this news to be known.

⁶⁹ By this it is meant to imply, that the whole affair was pre-arranged, and the falling in of the gateway was not an accident.

Then, after this, Dhian Singh wrote a letter and sent it to Maharaja Sher Singh to call him from the city Watala ; and in it, he wrote thus : "If you wish to be king of Lahaur, you must come to Lahaur within twenty-four hours." On Sher Singh's arrival in Lahaur, the news of the death of Nau Nihal Singh was made known throughout the city ; but, before Sher Singh arrived in Lahaur, they had caused this report to be spread regarding Nau Nihal Singh, that he was very ill from a blow (received at the gateway).

After the death of Nau Nihal Singh, when discord found its way into the kingdom, then Dhian Singh thought thus ; "If Chand Kor sit on the throne, then the Sandhewalia family will degrade me and my brothers from our rank ;" he therefore called all the chiefs and began to devise another plan⁷⁰ and said, "O Sikhs ! this does not appear good, that the sect of the Khalsa should obey a woman ; therefore this appears proper that you should seat Maharaja Sher Singh, who is the son of our lord Maharaja Ranjit Singh, on the throne of the kingdom." Having thus said, he took a small part of the army with him and began to devise for placing Sher Singh on the throne. On hearing this, the Sandhewalia family, and Raja Gulab Singh, prepared to help the mother, Chand Kor ; Dhian Singh, seeing that he had given rise to a general quarrel, said to Sher Singh : "Whereas, at this time, a very great and serious tumult is about to take place, it will be a difficult matter to give the throne to you ; therefore do you now go back to Watala ; I will make proper arrangements for giving you the throne, and will then send for you." On hearing this, Sher Singh went to Watala, and he (Dhian Singh) having left his agents and spies at Lahaur, himself proceeded thence to Jammu ; and he also sent this message to his kinsmen : "Do you get ready armies for the assistance of Sher Singh, and send me intelligence (when they are ready)."

After a month, Dhian Singh's people sent him information in Jammu, that they had got ready an army for his assistance, and that he should bring Sher Singh along with himself and come to Lahaur. On hearing this, Dhian Singh wrote and sent to Watala to Sher Singh : "Do you come to the Salabagh-wala Gate at Lahaur and remain ready. I, bringing an army, will join you." Then, Sher Singh, taking about 300 horsemen with him, arrived at the Salabagh Gate, Lahaur ; but not seeing Dhian Singh, he became very sad.

⁷⁰ Lit. "He began to write something else on the wooden slate."

One of his aides-de-camp, by name Juala Singh, said to him : "Do not you be sad ; I will bring the whole of the army from Mian Mir to your assistance." At first, the army would not agree to help Sher Singh without Dhian Singh's order ; but, at last, having been brought to reason by Juala Singh, it turned out to assist Sher Singh. Accordingly, next day, at daybreak, the officers of the army, having come to the brick kiln of Buddhu, saluted the Maharaja Sher Singh, and said to him ; "O Maharaja ! We are all for you." Having said this, they commenced to fire a salute of guns, and all the people, having called Sher Singh king of Lahaur, began to offer him their congratulations.

CHAPTER XVII

THE LAHAUR CAMPAIGN

When the news of Sher Singh's arrival became known, Gulab Singh consulted with Chand Kor and Khusal Singh, Jamadar and Sardar Teja Singh, as to how it behoved them then to act; and, having got together a small portion of the army of his brother Dhian Singh, sent them off to oppose the enemy. As the army was going off to fight, he himself went after it and brought it back from near the Hazuri Bagh, and, with the assistance of that army, came and took possession of the fort. He then sent word to the Rani (Queen) that the 60,000 troops, which were in Mian Mir, had all joined Sher Singh, and there were only about 2,000 men with him, and that, with these, it would be difficult to get the better of Sher Singh. Gulab Singh hoped, that Sher Singh would not enter the fort, till Dhian Singh came, but Sher Singh, contrary to his expectation, without waiting for Dhian Singh's arrival, came with the army and commenced to attack the fort. Gulab Singh determined to resolutely hold the fort as long as he was able till Dhian Singh's arrival; so that Sher Singh might think that he had conquered the fort with Dhian Singh's assistance. After this, in the evening, Gulab Singh mounted an elephant, and went to the different gates of the city, and, having given much money to the watchmen, said to them, that, should Sher Singh try to enter, they were, as long as possible, to prevent his doing so. Then, having come into the fort, and having sent for the officers of the army, he took oaths and vows from them, that they would not let Sher Singh take possession of the fort as long as any life was left in them; and further, having given all the army four months' pay on behalf of Chand Kor, said to them that, after the war, they should obtain very great rewards.

Next morning, when two watches remained to dawn, Sher Singh, having come by the Dilli Gate and the Tak Sali Gate, entered the city along with the army; and the whole army shouting, "Satt Siri Akal (true is the Immortal One); O Sect of the Wah Guru! victory be to the Wah Guru," went straight to the fort. At that time, there were with them so many guns, that, even if they had been mounted close together on all sides around the fort, there would not have been enough room for them to stand.

Then the guns began to be fired from all four quarters, and a great fear arose in the fort ; but, after a short while, the cannon balls ceased to be fired, and the noise, which had at first been made, all subsided. Then those twelve guns, which were mounted at the Hazuri Gate, began to be fired : when, the gate of the fort had been forced in by their fire, then two or three hundred Akalis,⁷¹ having made a charge, proceeded to enter the fort ; but the guns from inside were fired so well, that a hundred Akalis were killed by their fire ; hearing the sound of those guns from inside, the enemy fled, and many of their guns were damaged. Seeing this state, a small portion of the army from the fort, without orders from Gulab Singh, raising a hurrah, charged down on the enemy, and drove them out from the Hazuri Bagh ; and, in that fight, three hundred Sikhs were killed. When Sher Singh heard of this disturbance there, then, taking six guns with him, he charged the Masti Gate, but the volleys, fired by the artillerymen in the fort, caused them to retire. On this, Sher Singh began to fire all his guns, but the people from inside fired their guns with such precision that a great many of the artillerymen of Sher Singh were killed, and many, leaving their guns, fled. Then the army of Sher Singh, having made embrasures in the walls of the streets, and in the houses, for their guns, began to fire them. As there were no holes in the fort, there were no places for embrasures ; the people inside therefore made holes in the breastworks and wished to construct embrasures in them ; but, as the lime and brick failed, they were helpless and obliged to desist from doing so, but made bastions, inside the fort, of earth and wood, and threw down the walls in front. At that time, there were 1,200 Sikhs in the fort ; they formed a resolve to create a disturbance in the fort, and to go and join their brothers. In this way, after much fighting and after having suffered many hardships, Maharaja Sher Singh, at last with the assistance of Dhian Singh, obtained the throne.

When Gulab Singh, having vacated the fort, was going to Sahdara, then the minister of Sher Singh incited the army to pursue and kill him ; but, at the command of Dhian Singh and Sher Singh, the armies desisted from it. As Dhian Singh always regarded Juala Singh as the enemy of his life, for this reason, with much dexterity, he turned the heart of Sher Singh against him ; and on one occasion, when Juala Singh

⁷¹ Akalis are Sikhs, who dress in blue, and wear the quoit round their turban.

was taking about six thousand troops towards Sahdara, then Dhian Singh, having said something to Sher Singh, made him (Sher Singh) fight with Juala Singh. In that fight, Sher Singh took Juala Singh prisoner, and he afterwards died in confinement. This was that Juala Singh, whom Maharaja Sher Singh, from his great affection for him, wished to make his minister, but that wretch, Dhian Singh, from fear of losing the ministership, himself turned the Maharaja so greatly against him, that even after his death, in speaking of him, he (Sher Singh) used to abuse him much.

The Rani Chand Kor had obtained a grant of land (jagir), worth nine lakhs of rupees, in the territory of Jammu, for her subsistence, and Gulab Singh was her manager; but, out of this jagir, he used to give her only enough for her actual expenses. Again, on one occasion when Maharaja Sher Singh wished to marry⁷² Queen Chand Kor and make her his own wife, then Gulab Singh did not approve of this; but, having instilled many kinds of suspicions into the Queen's mind, he made her the enemy of Sher Singh; for he thought, should she become the wife of Sher Singh, then all her property, goods, and jagir, would go out of his own hands into the hands of Sher Singh. Although Sher Singh once or twice again sent and asked Chand Kor to marry him, still she did not agree, but sent some ambiguous reply that she thought the Maharaja wanted to kill her. At last it thus happened that Sher Singh, having promised her four female servants some estates, got them to kill Chand Kor. The Maharaja Sher Singh, on hearing of her death, was greatly pleased; and Gulab Singh also obtained much profit from her death, for he became possessor of all her wealth and property.

Again after a short time, inward enmity arose between Maharaja Sher Singh and the minister Dhian Singh; and the minister, Dhian Singh, having, through (the instrumentality) of Bhai Ram Singh, invited the Sandhewalis, who had been turned out of their estates and imprisoned, formed friendship with them, and used often to address them thus: "Although Sher Singh outwardly shows friendship to you, inwardly he is the enemy of your life; and, if it were not for me being between you, he is prepared to act very cruelly towards you."

When in this way, he had turned their hearts, then they thought there must have been some quarrel between the

⁷² Lit. "To throw a sheet over"; this is the expression used for marrying a widow.

Maharaja and him. After Gulab Singh had gone to Jammu, Dhian Singh found out that there was another son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, named Dalip Singh, about 5 or 6 years old, and thought it advisable for him by all means to turn Sher Singh off the throne, and make Dalip Singh the king of Lahaur. From that day, Dhian Singh, having called Dalip Singh, began to show him much affection, and, seating him in his lap, used to make salams and pay respect to him; Sher Singh, on hearing this, determined that he would, by some means, turn out that minister, (for he knew that) otherwise he would give him great trouble.

On the one side, this plan had formed itself in the mind of Sher Singh, and, on the other, in the minds of the Sandhewalis, from hearing the words of Dhian Singh, it had become firmly established that the Maharaja Sher Singh, on account of former differences, still bore inward enmity against them. Afterwards it came into their minds that as Dhian Singh bore some animosity to the Maharaja, he therefore wished to kill him by their hands. Having reflected in their minds over all these different motives, the Sandhewalis went to Sher Singh and, joining their hands, said to him: "O true king! as for a long time we have eaten your salt, therefore, as you have been dishonoured before us, behold, we cannot bear it any longer; therefore we now relate to you the conduct of your minister Dhian Singh, whom you regard as your own body and life; that Dhian Singh has sent us to you at this time to kill you, and, in return for this, he has promised to give us a jagir of 60,000 rupees. His intention is, after having killed you, to place Dalip Singh on the throne, and thus himself continue in his ministership." Having heard this speech, Sher Singh believed their words to be correct and true, for he had, before this, heard of the giving of the throne to Dalip Singh; Sher Singh, at that time, with much decision and promptitude, drawing his sword from its sheath, gave it into the hands of Sardars Lahina Singh and Ajit Singh, Sandhewalis, and said, "Take this, brothers! if this is your intention, then cut off my head with my own sword; but remember this, that he, whom you now regard as your friend, will afterwards show great hatred towards you, for he will never let you go alive." From hearing this, a great effect was produced on the minds of the Sandhewalis, so that they, joining their hands, said: "O true king! do you yourself consider; if this had been our intention, why should we have come and told you the secret? do you know for certain, that

we, regarding you as a brother of the Sikh religion, and openly acknowledging you as our master, have come and given you this information. We have not come to kill, rather to save, you. But do you also remember, that this base minister is not, from to-day only, desirous to take your life, but has been so for some time past. We, acknowledging the obligations of our salt (i.e., our oaths), have told you this secret; but if that sinner had sent any one else, you would not have escaped alive. We, therefore, purpose to kill that vile and treacherous minister; if he shall remain alive, he will certainly devise some means for killing you." Sher Singh, on hearing this speech, at first said nothing openly, but afterwards spoke out plainly "Well you know best; to kill that wretch would perhaps be well." The Sandhewalis, having considered this, that, afterwards, they might be punished for the crime of the murder of the minister, therefore caused Sher Singh to write in his own hand to them: "Do you kill Dhian Singh." Then they said thus: "We are now going to Rajesanhsiya, which is near Anmritsar, and, having gone there, we will collect an army for the purpose. It therefore behoves you one day to take a muster of your army, and do you also call and send for us to be mustered; we will immediately come to be mustered, and, when you give us the sign, we will at once surround Dhian Singh and his son Hira Singh, and kill them." Then they said this also: "From our coming, you must have no anxiety on our account, for we are amongst those subjects who are truly loyal to you."

When the Sandhewalis had thus thoroughly arranged every thing, they departed; but those base traitors, instead of going to Rajesanhsiya, went straight to the house of Dhian Singh; having gone there, and taken many oaths from Dhian Singh, they said, "If you will not tell any one, then we will tell you some thing of advantage to yourself." He said "I will not tell any one." Those base Sandhewalis then placed before him that paper, on which was attached the seal of Sher Singh, with orders to kill Dhian Singh. On seeing the paper, Dhian Singh became comforted, and said to them: "Brothers! you have shown great kindness to me, in that you have told me of this; but now do you point out what plan I should adopt?" They gave reply "Do not you fear, for we will kill him; for he is hostilely inclined towards you." Dhian Singh, on hearing this, became delighted, and said, "Do you do this, and I will give you as much reward as I can."

They then proposed that same plan to him for killing Sher Singh, which they had fixed with Sher Singh for killing Dhian Singh; saying: "On the day of the muster, we will accomplish and complete this." Then they said this also, "Do you, on that day, send such part of the army to the king's palace as will not spoil your business."⁷³ Having determined this, those knaves and wretches went to Rajesanhsiya; as long as they remained at Rajesanhsiya, the Raja Dhian Singh did not go to Durbar; for he, from this fear lest Sher Singh should kill him, had sent this message to the Durbar that he was somewhat out of sorts.

Again, after a few days, the Sandhewalis, bringing about five or six thousand very good picked horsemen with them, came to Lahaur. At that time, Maharaja Sher Singh was at a place called Sahbalaaur, at a distance of about three kos from Lahaur, and the Sandhewali chiefs also proceeded there, and, leaving the rest of the army outside, went in with only about fifty horsemen. At that time Sher Singh was seated on a chair with a head pillow behind him; Ajit Singh, Sandhewali, taking a double-barrel gun in his hand, came to the Maharaja, and, laughing, said: "Look Maharaja! I have bought this gun for 1,400 rupees; if any one now were to give me 3,000 for it, I would not take it." On hearing this, the Maharaja put out his hand to take the gun. That artful Sandhewali at once pulled the trigger of the gun, and the two bullets, which were charged in each of the barrels, went into Sher Singh's breast, and he then, staggering from the chair, fell on the ground, and died. That wretched Sandhewali immediately cut off his head, and carried it off in his hand; and no one, who at that time opposed any of the Sandhewalis, escaped alive. After this, the Sandhewalis went to that garden where Sher Singh's eldest son was reading. That boy's age at that time was 13 or 14 years. When the lad saw Lahina Singh coming towards him with a naked sword, getting up, he fell at his feet, and weeping said: "O my lord! spare my life." That sinner, Lahina Singh, showed no mercy, but cut off the head of that guiltless child. Then, having settled the business of the father and son, they returned to the city. At that time, there were with Ajit Singh 300 horse and 200 footmen, and about 200 horse with Lahina Singh; as these two were going along, one behind the other, after a while, they met with Raja Dhian Singh. Ajit Singh said to Dhian Singh, "Come! why are you now going out? we

⁷³ i.e. Men on whom you can rely.

have fulfilled the promise we gave you to kill Sher Singh." Dhian Singh, at that time, was greatly afraid in his mind, lest they might kill him also. But seeing that his army was small, he joined Ajit Singh. When they entered the fort, then the Sandhewalis stopped Dhian Singh's troops at the second gate. Seeing this, Dhian Singh became greatly alarmed in his heart. Having gone on a little, Ajit Singh gave a nod to one of his soldiers, who, coming behind Dhian Singh with a loaded carbine, shot him; and then a second soldier came up and put another bullet into him, and he died there; a Musalman soldier, who was the servant of Dhian Singh, when he saw his master being killed, opposed them a little, but they, having killed him also, threw his corpse, together with that of Dhian Singh, into the ditch of the fort.

Distich

The world is a play of four days; no one remains always in it.

Cursed is their life who make quarrels.

Verses

This Dhian Singh Sardar,
 (Who) was a wretch and a sinner and a worker of vile
 deeds,
 He committed many wickednesses,
 And many people were killed by him;
 No one has seen a deceiver like him,
 For he passed all his life in great craftiness;
 Behold how many he killed!
 But with what stratagem and fraud he kept himself aloof;
 He killed Nihal Singh,
 And then created bad feeling against the mother.⁷⁴
 Then, becoming the friend of Sher Singh,
 He cut off the head of Chet Singh;
 He after this, for Sher Singh,
 Laid many stratagems and traps;
 And all the Sandhewalis
 Were turned against him by this sinner;
 And when they killed Sher Singh,
 It was all done through his advice;
 He committed many sins,
 And he murdered many people;

⁷⁴ This refers to his telling the people, that it was not good for them to have a woman to reign over them.

At last his turn came,
And he forgot all his cleverness ;
None can escape from God,
He destroys the root of every sinner ;
When his time of death came,
Then he was not able to say any thing ;
His heart's thought remained in his heart, and the words
 of his mouth in his mouth,
When death came and seized him by the arm ;
Alas ! Alas ! that, in the world, man
Commits whatever violence his mind wills,
And does not fear God,
And does not keep this thought in his mind,
'No one always in this world remains stretching out his
 feet,
Then why should I cause many quarrels ?
And why should I keep the pleasure of the world in my
 heart ?
For a life of four days,
Why should I distress many people ?
There is a meeting for two days of all pleasure,
And then all the play will become confused ;'
Now do you all listen to this !
This world does not belong to any one ;
As one acts, so one obtains (his reward) ;
And one's father and mother cannot save one ;
The fruit of one's deeds will necessarily come,
And no one can remove it ;
Therefore do every thing that is good ;
Eschew evil and fear God.

They then went and sat down in the fort, and reflected that if Dhian Singh's son, Hira Singh, and his brother, Suchet Singh, should hear of his death, then they would charge down on them and kill them ; and it was therefore necessary to devise some plan (to save themselves). Those sinners then wrote a letter from Dhian Singh to Hira Singh and Suchet Singh to this effect, "I am seated in the fort with the Sandhewalis, and am taking counsel with them ; do you also, immediately on reading this letter, come to the fort ;" for it was the intention of the Sandhewalis, that when those two come into the fort, then they, finding them alone, should kill them. When this letter reached them at the brick kiln of Buddhu, then their advisers, seeing something curious in it,

wrote this reply: "We have not the slightest objection to come, but we will only come, if a letter shall reach us written by the hand of Dhian Singh himself." When they saw that they had understood their letter, then they sent 500 horsemen to seize and bring Hira Singh and Suchet Singh; but those troopers were not able to catch them; and, one hour after this, the news had spread everywhere, that the Sandhewalis had killed Maharaja Sher Singh and the minister Dhian Singh. On hearing this news, Hira Singh lost his senses, and, uttering exclamations of regret, began to roll on the ground. Seeing his childish crying and sobbing, Rai Kesri Singh said: "What means this, that you are behaving like a child? what has happened, has happened; it behoves you to devise for the future, for there is no knowing what other calamities those Sandhewalis may create." On hearing this his speech, he came to his senses, and, taking all those chiefs with him, went to the army, so that, by its means, he might take his revenge on the Sandhewalis. Hira Singh, accompanied by all the chiefs, placed his sword before the whole army, and said: "O Khalsaji! behold Maharaja Ranjit Singh, from my childhood even, honoured me more than his own sons; and my whole life-time I have enjoyed great happiness, for I have never seen any suffering; but now the Sandhewalis have done away with all my joy; behold! they have killed our king Sher Singh, and my father; if you will help me to take my revenge for this, then I shall be your debtor my whole life long; they have done this deed for this reason, that they might bring the English into this country, and destroy the sect of the Khalsa; for, when they lived in Hindustan, they then promised the English that they would call them to the Panjab. They have now written and sent several letters to Ludhiana and Parojpur saying: 'We have now made the throne of Lahaur empty; let the English come and take it under their sway'; therefore behold O Khalsaji! your religious sect is now in danger, and the English will come and take away your arms, and, having taken your honour from you, will make you take to agriculture. If you do not exert yourselves and do something now, then, no trace of the Khalsaji will be left any where. Fifty thousand British troops will soon cross the Satluj, and come and kill you, and then you will be able to do nothing; the English will give you great distress, for, besides destroying your religion, they will do away with your name and trace. Well, even if you do not regard the arrival of the English as any harm, still look at my father, with what

stratagem the Sandhewalis have killed him. Hark ! I will say one other thing to you ; you know how much wealth my father had, and how much treasure belonged to the Maharaja ; so that if I were to spend for a hundred years even, I should not be bankrupt ; but now this is my resolution, that I will forsake every thing else, and foster the army. Behold ! from to-day I will give twelve rupees a month to a foot soldier, and thirty a month to a horseman. If you do not believe me, then I swear, and promise you, that I will sacrifice all my uncle's and my father's wealth on you ; I have no other design, but I only wish this, that I may kill the Sandhewalis and, stopping the English at the Satluj, keep my country in peace and quiet. If we shall not do this, then our whole life long, there will be disgrace to me and to you ; remember this, that the Sandhewalis are the enemies of your country, and of the Hindu religion and the Sikh faith ; and if we shall not kill them, then there is no knowing what will become of our religion."

The army, on hearing this speech, became inflamed with rage, and, there and then, leaving their food and drink, and pots and pans, prepared to fight. The army then said to Hira Singh, "Do you go with ease of heart to your camp at the brick kiln of Buddhu ; we will come with you and take revenge on these sinners in right good style." Hira Singh, in this way by his sagacity, got 40,000 of the army on his side ; when they were thus preparing to assault the city, then the Sandhewalis, having given some money to the few troops of the army, who were in the fort and city, won them over to help them. Although, for the sake of keeping secret the death of Dhian Singh, they gave out in the city that Maharaji Dalip Singh had become king, and Dhian Singh his minister, still the death of the latter did not remain secret in the town. At evening time Hira Singh, taking the army of the Khalsa with him, set out for the city.

On hearing this, the Sandhewalis, for the sake of abating the wrath of the Sikhs, having covered the corpse of Dhian Singh with a shawl, and sprinkled it with rose-water, sent it to the army, along with the corpse of that Musalman soldier, who had died with him, and said, "Alas ! alas ! this Musalman soldier has, without our order, killed the minister, and we are greatly grieved ; and we, there and then, killed this base traitor." However the wrath of the Khalsa was not assuaged by these words ; rather, with a loud voice shouting

"Victory to the Wah Guru" they entered the city, and came and surrounded the fort. Hira Singh, having called the gunners, said "Do you fire and make a breach in the fort, so that the whole army may be able to enter the fort." He moreover said to them: "I will give you much money for these your services, for it is the intention of my heart, that I will not take my food and drink, until I see the heads of the Sandhewalis cut off." Afterwards he said to the army, which was looting the city, "If you will cut off and bring to me the heads of my enemies, then I will give you an order to loot the fort also." On hearing this, the army, for the sake of entering the fort, cajoled the artillerymen much, that they, with their guns, should make a road into the fort; the gunners, having fired the guns, at break of day made a breach in the fort, and the army, by that road, made an attempt to enter the fort. When the army, with much fury, charged and attacked the fort, then the inner army did not oppose them in the least; and those Sikhs of the inner army, who did oppose Hira Singh, being powerless, were not able to offer much resistance. When they saw the great violence and impetuosity of Hira Singh's army, then Ajit Singh, Sandhewali, for the sake of saving his life, jumped out over the wall of the fort. The army, recognising him, seized him, and, immediately cutting off his head, brought it to Hira Singh. Hira Singh pleased them by bestowing on them money, jagirs and much wealth, and said, "I, in my life-time, am determined to efface the seed of the Sandhewalis, and I will sacrifice my life to effect it."

Then Hira Singh lifted the head, and brought and placed it at the feet of his mother. His mother, on seeing it, was greatly pleased and said: "I am now pleased, and I will pray for blessings on you at the threshold of God, for you have right well taken the revenge of your father." Having said the above, she prepared for satti, and, having seated herself on the pile, said: "Do you do much charity after my death, and always keep your thoughts on the rights of the deserving." Then she said to the other Sardars "Place on the head of Hira Singh the crown of the kingdom." When the chiefs had placed the crown on his head, then his mother said "Enough! I am now satisfied; set fire to my funeral pile." The people then set fire to it and, at that time, thirteen other women also did satti with her.

The following circumstance is worthily to be narrated; that, of those thirteen women, one, a servant who used to do

service to the mother of Hira Singh, was only ten years old. When she wished to burn herself along with the Queen, then the Queen, seeing her youth, said "Do not you do satti with me, for I have made you over to Hira Singh, and he will always keep you happy in every way." On hearing this, that girl began to cry, and said, "I have no desire for any thing else; take me also with you, where you are going;" then she said this also "If you will not let me do satti, then I will die in some other way." When the Queen and other people saw her firm resolve (to die), then they thought it right to let her do satti also. Then she, along with them all, being burnt, was turned into ashes.

When the fight was finished, then Hira Singh gave orders that no more looting was to be allowed in the fort; then the search for Lahina Singh commenced. He was not found amongst the wounded or in any other place, but they obtained a clue of him in a cellar. He had broken his leg, and, there was with him at that time a servant, who although fifty years old, was still very powerful. He, at that time, very nobly showed his loyalty; for, to deliver Lahina Singh, he went and stood ready for opposition at the entrance of the cellar. When the Sikhs saw him, then they said "Do you go away from here; we have got nothing to do with you," but he would not listen to what they said, rather he replied "I will give my head in place of my master." On hearing this speech, the Sikhs became very angry. When the Sikhs wished to shoot him, then he said "To shoot me is nothing, but I will regard him as brave, who will draw his sword and fight with me." The Sikhs, on hearing this, desisted from shooting, but a number of them,⁷⁵ drawing their swords, rushed on and attacked that single man; but bravo to his bravery! for he died after having with his own hand killed thirteen men. At that time of dying, he said "O Sikhs! my master is already wounded; you must not cut him up and kill him now." They did not listen to what he said, but a Sikh, from behind him, fired a gun so well, that Lahina Singh was killed by its shot.

Then the army agreed to this, that, if Hira Singh would agree to these their terms, then they would obey him, otherwise what God willed, that should happen.

Those terms were as follows :—

1st.—That no annoyance was to be given to Pasaura

⁷⁵ Lit. "Ten or twelve men."

Singh and Kasmira Singh, and they were to be called to Lahaur and the army was to be called back from Sialkot.

2nd.—Pandat Jala was to be turned out of the Durbar, or to be made over to their hands.

3rd.—Missar Beli Ram, who was the old treasurer, was again to be restored to his post.

4th.—Bhai Gurmukh Singh was to be recalled.

5th.—That Sardar Juahar Singh, who was the uncle of Dalip Singh, was to be released from confinement.

Agreeing to the first term, Hira Singh sent a letter to Sialkot, directing that the army was to come back from there. Regarding the second term, he said "Pandat Jala is my servant, and, if he shall commit any fault, I will punish him; but do you forgive him his former offences" and he added this also, "Well henceforth, he shall not again come to the Durbar, nor shall he give any advice about state affairs." Regarding the third term, he said "Missar Beli Ram and Bhai Gurmukh Singh were deposed by the advice of the army for misbehaviour; therefore you know best about this."⁷⁶

Regarding the fifth, at that time it was agreed that Juahar Singh should be released from confinement, and that two thousand rupees should be given him, and 10,000 to the army, for expenses.

As the army were very determined on Hira Singh accepting these terms, and Suchet Singh saw that there was some difference between the army and Hira Singh, he therefore determined at once to come to Lahaur. When Suchet Singh arrived in Lahaur, then he saw another state of affairs. On this, he wrote the circumstances of his coming to that army, which had given him the news of this difference, and called him from Jammu. The army replied "Hira Singh has now agreed to all our terms; we therefore will not now break our word with him; it is therefore best for you, that you should quickly return to Jammu; for if you shall remain here, you will suffer great loss." On hearing this, he was greatly ashamed, and, being filled with rage, he determined to give his life. Although Hira Singh himself also sent and told Suchet Singh, that if he did not return to Jammu, it would be very serious (to himself), still even he did not listen to any thing, but said "I will not retrace my steps without dying and fighting."

Then Hira Singh, taking 15,000 troops, pursued Suchet

⁷⁶ i.e., You can do as you like.

Singh. At that time Suchet Singh had alighted in a Muhammadan Masjid, and all his attendants were then listening to the Granth Sahib. Hira Singh's army began at once to fire ball, but Suchet Singh would not give up listening to the Granth : when all the walls of the Masjid had been knocked down by the guns, then Suchet Singh, taking his sword in his hand, fought very bravely. At that time, there were with Suchet Singh about 200 men only. On this occasion, Suchet Singh's small army showed great spirit and fought very bravely, for they were all killed fighting for their master ; and one hundred and sixty of them were killed in this fight. After the fight, when Hira Singh came to the place of the fight, and saw that Rai Kesri Singh was wounded, then he laughed at him greatly, and afterwards that Kesri Singh died from thirst. But when Hira Singh saw his uncle's body among the slain, then he began to cry very much at seeing the corpse of his uncle. He then had him placed in a palki, and brought him to that place, where was the tomb of Gulab Singh's eldest son, Udham Singh, and, on arrival there, he burned him.

Whilst he was absent from Lahaur, Pasaura Singh and Kasmira Singh wandered about, lurking and prowling ; and having despaired of saving themselves, went and took refuge with Bhai Bir Singh. This Bhai Bir Singh, by wandering about in the Manjha country, and taking offerings and gifts and presents, had become so powerful, that 1,200 footmen and about 300 horse and two guns always remained with him. All the chiefs, that were turned out of the durbar at Lahaur, used to go and live with him. Hira Singh felt certain of this also, that, as Bhai Bir Singh kept such a large army, his intention was to take the throne of Lahaur, but Hira Singh, by reason of fear, could never even mention the name of fighting with Bhai Bir Singh, for the Sikhs placed so much confidence in him, that if, through forgetfulness even, Hira Singh had mentioned the idea of killing him, then they would have killed him himself that very moment. In the cook-house of Bhai Bir Singh, food was always prepared for 1,500 men.

Hira Singh and his friend Pandat Jala formed this resolve that, by some means, they should kill him without the army obtaining information of it ; and they devise this also, that the disgrace of killing him should also not be attached to them ; thus determining, it came into their thoughts that they should first write a friendly letter to him, and then see what was to be done. These two wrote and sent to Bir Singh

saying "O Maharaj ! do you offer up some good prayer for us"; and having sent it (the letter) with many fine things (as a present), added this also, "If you wish it, ask (me) and I will appoint a jagir for you, for the expenses of your cook-house are very great." The object of all this was this, that Bhai Bir Singh might have no suspicion of him. Then Hira Singh made Mutab Singh, Majithiya, his counsellor, and began to show him much kindness and gave him much money also; after this, he said to Mutab Singh "News has come to me from India, that Sardar Atar Singh, Sandhewali, has made some agreement with the English to fight with the Sikhs; moreover, it is also reported that he has enlisted the chiefs on the other side of the Satluj on his side; I therefore now regarding you as (of) one mind with myself,⁷⁷ consult you as to what should be done; and I have hopes, that if you will help me in this matter, then all this business shall be accomplished satisfactorily. Mutab Singh, being entangled in his friendship, replied "I am at your service in every way." Hira Singh, regarding him as his helper, said, "Do you take your regiment, and go to Anmritsar; and, from there, write and send a letter to this purport to Atar Singh; 'All the army and officers are your friends'; and then use your endeavours also to get him to come without fail to Bhai Bir Singh's house, after reading that letter, so that I may obtain an interview with him through the above Bhai." On hearing this, General Mutab Singh was pleased, and at once went to Anmritsar. As he was leaving, he (Hira Singh), said this also to him "I have sent for you not only for this business, but my intention is, that if the English shall be defeated in the fight with Gualiar, then I will take my whole army, and, crossing the river Satluj, make a raid on the British frontier." When Mutab Singh, agreeably to the saying of Hira Singh, had written to Atar Singh, then he came and put up at the house of Bhai Bir Singh; Hira Singh, on hearing this, sent and said to Bhai Bir Singh, "It is not proper for you to go collecting all these Sikhs with you; however I say nothing about the other chiefs, but you must turn out one Atar Singh from your house." Bir Singh sent and said "I am a fakir, and can put no restraints on any one coming to, or leaving, my house." Hira Singh, on hearing this, became filled with rage, and, having sent a large army, surrounded the house of Bir Singh, and all the Sardars in it; having gone there, the Sikhs fired off their cartridges, and one ball struck the leg of Bir Singh,

⁷⁷ i.e., my friend.

who died from the wound, and they threw his corpse into the river.

After this, Hira Singh began to reign in comfort and ease in Lahaur. Again, after some time, on one occasion Hira Singh wished to go for some reason to his own country ; but this suspicion arose (in peoples' minds), that he wished to take away the treasure of Lahaur and carry it off to Jammu. The Sikhs, taking a large army with them, crossed the river and went and surrounded him ; and after a severe fight, Juahar Singh, who was the uncle of Dalip Singh, killed Hira Singh, and the Pandat Jala ; and, after that, Juahar Singh began to carry on the duties of minister. This man was very wicked and debauched, and the Sikhs regarded him in a bad light. One day, on the plain of Mian Mir, they suddenly killed him, and, after that, Raja Lal Singh became minister. During his administration and rule, the army became very uncontrollable, and began to plunder greatly in Lahaur. At that time such calamities arose in Lahaur, that no one could go to sleep in peace. Afterwards, as there was no one to control the army, and they became unmanageable, then the whole army, collecting, set out to fight with the English ; and, without any quarrel or action (on the part of the English), they set fire to the station of Ludehana. After this, the English came with great force, and drove back the Sikhs ; then, after a great many battles, when the Sikhs had been defeated, Gulab Singh went and got what he could (out of them and made terms with the English.)

Whilst Gulab Singh was still there, the Queen Jinda thought that, as the Sikhs had now become outrageous and unruly and uncontrollable, there was no knowing but that they might go over perhaps to the English and give her trouble ; and as there was no one over them, it therefore would not be surprising, if this company of demons were to make differences between Dalip Singh and herself. Having thought over every thing well, she determined that, for keeping the throne of Lahaur and helping Dalip Singh, she would call the English to Lahaur ; for, besides them, there was now no one to oppose these violent ruffians ; for, although, from their coming outwardly there might be harm, still, in reality, they would give her much ease. Having thus thought, she said to her female servant, named Manglan "Do you, taking Dalip Singh, go to the English, and tell them from me, that since Maharaja Sher Singh died, and went to heaven, from

that time, much disturbance has taken place in Lahaur, for there is no master of the Sikh army, and whatever chief gives them any wealth or goods, they go with him, and begin to kill other people; and, behold! they have killed various chiefs, who were ready to give their lives to save the throne of Lahaur, and then, after that, they killed my brother most unjustly, and then fought with you. I am greatly afraid of them, and there is no knowing what else they may do." These two went to the English, and said all (they were told to say), agreeably to the command of Jinda Kor, and added: "The Queen Jinda Kor has asked you to come to Lahaur to help her." On hearing this, the English thought "Is there any other design in this or not?" Then, when they had fully ascertained that the Maharani was certainly much afflicted by the Sikhs, and her calling them was really in earnest, after a little thought and reflection, they prepared to go to Lahaur. There is no advantage in writing all the circumstances of that matter, for there is much writing about it in other books; but this much should be known, that, agreeably to the calling of the mother, Jinda Kor, in the year 1902 in the month of Phagan (February-March), the English people came to Lahaur. Afterwards, their power gradually increased to such a degree, that the entire government and revenue of Lahaur, rather of the whole Panjab, became theirs. God, day by day, has caused their grandeur and greatness to increase, and that of the Sikhs to diminish in power daily. Then, after some time Jinda Kor made this mistake, that she tried to create discord among the British troops, and win some of them over to herself;⁷⁸ and as the Maharaja Dalip Singh and Jinda Kor appeared to be the cause of many troubles and intrigues in the administration of the kingdom, the English Government therefore seized the persons of both of them, and had them sent to their own country (i.e., England) with much care.

Couplet

No one comes into, and always remains in, this world.
But whoever comes into it, only remains at ease two days.

Verses

Behold the play of this world;
People meet each other for four days;

⁷⁸ The story is that a soldier was attacked by a bull, which butted him with its horns, on which the soldier, who had a gun in his hand, shot it; this was reported to the sepoys, and Jinda Kor tried to intrigue with them, and work on their feelings, and win them over to herself.

Kings, subjects, rich, and poor,
 Trees, stones, ants, and men,
 Whoever has come into this world,
 Has never always been allowed to stop in it ;
 This is like the road of a highway ;
 All people pass over it (but never stop) ;
 Whatever is to-day, that
 Will not be seen again always⁷⁹
 Those, who had numerous armies,
 And those, who were wise, good, and holy,
 He enforced his orders most resolutely ;
 They all have gone, their names have not been remem-
 bered ;
 Saints and prophets all have been destroyed ;
 Those persons, who here remain sad,
 They will enjoy happiness, and put an end to grief (here-
 after).

Couplet

He, who is small, becomes great, and he, who is great,
 becomes small ;
 The rich become poor, and again the poor become rich.

Verses

Those persons, who were formerly poor,
 They afterwards have become filled with wealth,
 And then again, they have become deprived of wealth ;
 (For) diminishing and increase are in the power of God.
 Those, who have given many orders,
 And were renowned in all quarters,
 Behold ! they too have become beggars ;
 The power of God is wonderful ;
 Whom that Creator approves of,
 Him no one can kill,
 And, whom He wishes to kill,
 How much (people) may try to save him, he cannot be
 saved.

Behold Sardar Maha Singh⁸⁰
 Was small in power,
 But when Ranjit Singh was born,
 He (Ranjit Singh) became mighty in a few days.

Couplet

Much territory and wealth came into his power,

⁷⁹ Lit. "Morning and evening."

⁸⁰ The father of Ranjit Singh.

And, in a short time, God showed him many sorts of pleasures.

Verses

All the Panjab became subservient to him ;
Whoever obeyed him not, was destroyed ;
Various kinds of things were done by him,
and he got the kingdom into his hands.
No one saw his back.⁸¹
His agents went to all countries ;
But at last he also died ;
After him, many chiefs
Became very arrogant and proud.
But, like him, no other
Could rule the kingdom ;
This is a true saying, O Brother !
To whom God gives greatness,
No one will be like him,
And if any one become (proud), God will destroy him.

Couplet

The state of God can never be known,
But, in an instant, He can destroy what has been pre-
served for ages.⁸²

Verses

All thought this for certain,
That the Sikh dynasty would never be overthrown ;
As the greatness of Ranjit Singh,
Was such, that it increased day by day,
They thought it would never be removed,
And it would certainly remain thus ;
But, when it pleased God,
He effaced it altogether in an instant⁸³
So, O reader of this book !
Well ponder over this matter in thy heart ;
To increase and decrease is the way of the world ;
Therefore place your eyes (hopes) on God (alone).

⁸¹ Lit. "He was never defeated."

⁸² Lit. "For a hundred thousand years."

⁸³ Lit. "In a single watch."

CHAPTER XVIII

rites and customs

According to the saying of the Sastras, eight kinds of classes are known in India ; of these four, viz.—Brahmans, Chhattris, Vaisas, Sudras, are called *baran* or castes ; and four, namely Girists, Brahmachars, Banprastas, and Sanniasas, are called *Asram* or religious orders ; from these eight have arisen the various castes and sects, which are multifarious in the Panjab.

Now the account of the Brahmans is as follows : they are the offspring of Brahma, and altogether there are ten kinds of Brahmans ; amongst them, the Sarsuts, Kankubajas, Gaurs, Utkals and Maithals, are called *Panjgaurs* ; and five, the Drabars, Tailangs, Maharastras, Gurjars, and Karnataks, are called the *Panjdrabars* ; of these ten kinds, those who live in the Panjab are chiefly Sarsut Brahmans. Although the Sarsut Brahmans are all one, still, on account of their different families, they do not intermarry with each other. To write about all the families here would be very difficult ; but it is necessary to write about one or two, for if this should not be written, then their ways of marrying and betrothal could not be known. Amongst Brahmans, those who are called *Bahris* (i.e., the twelve), marry and give in marriage to twelve houses only ; and those, who are called *Bunjahis* (i.e., fifty-two), give and take the daughters of fifty-two houses, that is to say, families ; and they do not give them to, or take them from, any other houses, except these. It would take a good deal of space to write of the twelve houses of the *Bahris* and the fifty-two of the *Bunjahis* ; but of one kind of Sarsut Brahmans, who are called the *Athwans* (eight families), there are these eight families ; *Josis*, *Kurals*, *Sands*, *Pataks*, *Bharduajis*, *Soris*, *Tibaris* ; these eight families give their daughters to, and take them from, each other, and will have nothing to do with any other families. The *Josis* are of two kinds ; one, *Marurs*, and the other, *Mullammas* ; they are therefore called the *Athwans*. A *nai* (barber) or *purohit* (priest) goes and arranges the betrothal of the daughters of other Brahmans, but on account of the fewness of the families (of the *Athwans*) they know all the *Athwans* of the Panjab, and make the necessary enquiries, and betroth (their children), among themselves.

The ceremony of betrothal in the Panjab is as follows : the father sends by the hand of his nai (or barber) seven dates and one rupee to the house of the boy to be asked for ; when the nai arrives at the house of the bridegroom elect, then the head of the house, having sprinkled oil on both sides of the door, takes the nai inside, and after making enquiries after his health, the panch (or council) of the village, and the brotherhood, assemble and cause a chaunk of ata⁸⁴, to be made by the Pandha, (family Brahman). When, agreeably to the rites of the Vedas, the Pandha has caused the boy to do worship in the chaunk, the nai, having placed those seven dates and that rupee in the lap of the boy, presents the tikka, and puts it on the boy's forehead and with his mouth addresses this speech to the father of the boy "Congratulations, O great king !" Then the father of the boy, according to his means, gives rupees and money to the Brahman and nai, and sweetmeats to his brotherhood. Then all the people, having congratulated the father of the boy, go away to their houses ; they call the name of this custom the sagan (or betrothal). Again, when the day of marriage comes near, then the family of the bride send a letter by the hand of their nai, and give their news to the bridegroom-elect's people ; they call the name of that letter, the sah, or (appointing the day), letter. And the brotherhood and panch assemble in the same way and place the letter on the boy's lap. From this letter, it becomes known how many carriages, and how many persons, the girl's family have asked to accompany the wedding party, and what day the wedding will be. When seven days remain to the wedding, then the mother and father of the boy and girl give vatna ⁸⁵ (which they also call maia) to the boy and girl. Again, when the bridegroom arrives at the house of his father-in-law's family, then they dress him in his best jewels and clothes, and place a crown of silver and gold on his head, and a fringe of gold thread round his forehead. Afterwards, when the time of the wedding has been fixed by the Pandats according to the rites of the Vedas, they make a fire, and having done service to it, cause the boy and

⁸⁴ A chaunk is a square place prepared on the ground over which flour is spread. The square is divided into divisions by a Brahman or barber, and the names of the planets are then inserted in them, to obtain favourable omens. These marks are worshipped by the bride and bridegroom.

⁸⁵ A mixture of meal, oil and some fragrant material, which is used as a substitute for soap, having the property of making the skin soft and delicate.

girl to walk round it four times.⁸⁶ People call these circumambulations *laman*⁸⁷; when once they have made a girl go round the fire, then after that no one can marry her a second time.⁸⁸ Then next day, the bride's people entertain the wedding party and feed them with various kinds of sweetmeats, and sing songs; the name of the hospitality of this day is called *mithabhatt*, and the name of that which takes place the day after this, *khatabhatt*. The *Athwans*, mentioned above, perform all the business of the marriage like other *Brahmans*, except that on the day of *mithabhatt*, they do not give sweets to be eaten but merely spread various kinds of fruits on a sheet, and give people bowls of milk to drink; then, according to their means, having bestowed clothes, jewels, and money, on the bridegroom's people, on the fourth day they dismiss the wedding party. Again, two or three years after this kind of wedding, the bridegroom-elect goes to the house of his father-in-law to bring his bride home; the name of that custom is called *muklawa* (or bringing home a wife). At the *muklawa* also, they call a *Pandha* in that same manner, and cause him to make a *chaunk* (covered with *ata*), and, at the time of departing, it is the custom to give jewelry and clothes and money to the bride according to their means. The clothes and jewels, which are given to the bridegroom's people, at the time of the marriage and the *muklawa*, they call these (*khatt*) the dowry. When the bride's people send the betrothal to any one's house, then four questions are first asked about the boy; and if there is any deficiency in replying to any of these questions, then the betrothal does not take place; those four questions are as follows: of what got (family) is the boy? of what got are the relations of the boy's father's mother? of what got are the family of the boy's mother? and of what got are the family of the boy's mother's mother. If, in the reply to any of these four questions, there should be any deficiency, or if any of the got's correspond with the got of the girl, then they cannot form affinity. But, as the *Athwans* *Brahmans* are very few, they form affinity in spite of the correspondence of the got's of the boy and girl. Afterwards, when a child is born, that same day the father consults the *Pandats* and causes his horoscope to be written.

⁸⁶ The ends of the sheets worn by the bride and bridegroom are tied together in a knot, and they then walk round the fire, either four, or seven, times.

⁸⁷ This is the plural of *laun*, the title for one circuit of this ceremony.

⁸⁸ She can be married, but not according to these rites.

The Brahmans regard themselves as unclean for eleven days, commencing from the birth. Sutak is the name given to this state of ceremonial uncleanness; and in whosoever's house there is sutak, for eleven days no one can eat or drink with them. Again, after forty days, the mother performs ablution, and the people of the brotherhood call the priest, and give the child its name; the name of this custom is known as nam karan (naming). Then, for five years (and sometimes for three years) they do not allow the infant's hair to be shaved, and when the day fixed by his ancestor arrives, then, having gone to some place of pilgrimage, as a holy spot like Juala Mukhi, they shave the hair of the child, and the name of that custom they call bhaddan (first shaving). Afterwards, when the child reaches the age of eight years, then they shave his head, and, according to the rites of the Sastras, having called an assembly of Brahmacharis, they have the Brahminical thread put on his neck by the Guru.

Again, when any Brahman dies, then his son, or grandson, according to their means, having made a very beautiful bier, and having placed the dead body on it, cover it with a shawl or some other silken cloth; and although all the males of the family shave their heads, still the eldest son, for the sake of performing the funeral rites according to the rites of the Sastras, shaves his head, and, having put on his hand a ring of kusa,⁸⁹ which they make agreeably to the rites of the Vedas, takes three other men with him, and they lift the corpse. The other people of the house throw flowers, sweetmeats, pice and rupees on the corpse, and, uttering this speech "Sri Ram Ram Satt hai" (the name of Sri Ram is true) go to the place of burning, and, having placed the corpse a little this side of the burning ground, make an offering of rice balls⁹⁰ and, having made a stream of water flow around⁹¹ on all four sides of the corpse, they then break the earthen pot; then, when they arrive at the burning place, they place the corpse on the burning pile, sometimes with the shawl on, and sometimes having taken it off.⁹² Then, on

⁸⁹ Or dabbbh, a species of spear grass, used in certain social ceremonies.

⁹⁰ Used by Hindus at the sraddh of deceased relations.

⁹¹ The water is made to flow from the head and return there again; if any water is left in the pot, it is emptied; the pot is then dashed on the ground and broken to pieces. It is said that, on hearing the sound of the breaking of the pot, the deceased becomes aware that he is dead. The pot is called adhmarg, i.e., half way, because broken on the way.

⁹² If taken off, it is given to the Brahman.

the fourth day, having collected his *usts* i.e., his bones, they send them to the Ganges. The Brahman, who, at this time, for eleven days, according to the rites of the Vedas, performs the funeral obsequies and takes alms, him they call *acharaj* (an instructor, in matters of religion) or the *Maha Brahman* (chief Brahman); and no one eats, drinks, or associates with that *acharaj*, and they all (i.e., the *Acharaj*), have their own separate castes. In whosoever's house, the dead man dies, he for eleven days purifies, i.e., cleanses himself, and other people do not eat and drink with him. On the eleventh day, after having given much jewels, clothes and money to the *acharaj*, they perform the funeral obsequies; and afterwards, when four years have elapsed from the deceased's death, every year they perform *sradh*⁹³ in his memory, and feed Brahmans with various kinds of food.

The account of the *Chhatris* is as follows: those people who are called *Chhatris* in the *Sastras*, that is really the name of the *Khatris*. In the *Sastras* they call one who carries an umbrella (i.e. a king), a *Chhattri*; but as all the world cannot be kings, for this reason, persons, for the sake of getting a living, began to follow mercantile occupations, which originally was the occupation of *Vaisas*, i.e., *baniyas*. In the *Panjab*, for the sake of easy pronunciation, *Chhatris* began to be called *Khatris*. The rites and customs at birth, death, betrothal, *bhaddan*, &c., and marriage amongst these *Khatris*, is like that of all Brahmans, with this difference, that they observe the purification at birth and death for thirteen days. Amongst them also there are *Bahris* and *Bujahis*, and they form affinity also only amongst their (several families). As amongst the Brahmans there are *Athwansas*, so amongst the *Khatris*, there the *Dhaiyas*; and they only marry into *Dhaiya* families, but they do not regard it wrong to marry girls related to them on the mother's side.

The *Vaisas*; such they call *baniyas*; but now, contrary to the *Sastras*, the *Kaits*, *Sudras*, and *Bhabras*, and other castes, also style themselves *Vaisas*; but if one reflects properly, they all belong to the *Sudras*. The families (*gots*) of the *baniyas* are many, but they all have but two kinds of religion; one springing from *Vaisno*, and the other from *Saraugi*; those who are *Vaisno baniyas*, they observe the same rites at birth, death, putting on the Brahminical thread,

⁹³ A Hindu ceremony in which they worship and feed Brahmans, on some day during the month *Assu*, in commemoration of their deceased ancestors and for their special benefit.

and marriage, as all other Khattris, and Brahmans, but they differ somewhat in the custom of mithabhadd at their marriages, and in (their ceremonies) at eating and feasts.

The Saraugi banyas do not regard the Vedas and Sastras, or the gods or goddesses, and forms and ordinances, set forth in them; and the funeral obsequies which ought to be performed at the time of death, these they do not perform at all. For this reason, Vaisno banyas used not to intermarry with them, but in the present day, for sometime back, some have even begun to intermarry with them. In the same way as the Khattris regard the Sarsut Brahmans as their family priests and give them alms so also do these banyas reverence the Gaur Brahmans as their family priests. Some of the Khattris eat meat and drink wine; but banyas regard mentioning the name even of these things as sin. There is one caste of banyas, who are known as Dhusars, and although they are like the banyas in their ordinances and rites, still other banyas will not intermarry with them. These Dhusars principally live in Hindustan; up to the present time, there is not a single family of them in the Panjab.

The Sudras; such they call barbers, washermen, wine distillers, potters, carpenters, and other low castes. The customs, at birth, death, and marriage, of all these people are all like those of the three, which have been above mentioned; but there is a vast difference in their rites at eating and feasts, and at sutak⁹⁴ and patak.⁹⁵ Amongst them, the sutak and patak last a month and a quarter; these people do not wear the Brahminical thread; for this reason Khattris and Brahmans refrain from eating bread at their houses, in fact they will not even drink water, or the like, from them. Although the Jatts are also among the Sudras, still all Khattris and Brahmans will drink water at their hands; and although a jhiur (Hindu water-carrier) is also a Sudra, still every one will drink water at his hands. The Sudras do not regard as wrong, in the same way as Khattris, Brahmans, and other high-bred people hold as highly improper, the buying and selling of their daughters, and the marrying them to relatives already connected by marriage, and the re-marriage of widows, rather they shamelessly and openly do these things; and if they desire to marry a married woman, then, contrary to the rites of the Vedas, having thrown the sheet (of marriage) over them,⁹⁶ they marry her. Amongst

⁹⁴ Purification at births.

⁹⁵ Purification at deaths.

⁹⁶ That is, they do not marry her according to proper rites, for

Sudras, barbers, washermen, and many other castes do not worship any one but their ancestors, who have died beloved of the Supreme Being. Accordingly the nais (barbers) worship Sain Bhagat, the washermen worship Baba Nam Deo, and do not regard any but these as good. Although the Rajputs of the Panjab in the present time pursue agriculture like the Jatts, still they are not Sudras by origin; but, on the contrary, they are pure Khattris, for their descent is from the Khattris, who are descended from the sun, and who are called the offspring of Sri Ram Chand. Their customs at birth, death, and marriage, &c., are according to the rites laid down in the Vedas; these people wear the Brahminical thread, and perform sandhia⁹⁷ and Gatri.⁹⁸

Now the account of the four Asrams is as follows :

1st. Girisati is the name of all family people, who, according to the rites of their religion, live in the world; in the Vedas, they are called grisati.

2nd. Brahmachari was the name of a sect; formerly, all people in their youth, at the time of receiving instruction, used to be received into the sect of Brahmachari; and then, on marriage, used to cohabit with their wives⁹⁹; but now Brahmachari is the name of a kind of religious mendicantship. These people, having shaved their heads and faces, become medicants, and wear the Brahminical thread and tuft of hair. The Brahmacharis are of four kinds; at the end of their names, titles, such as Nand, Pargas, &c., are added, as Rama Nand, Siama Nand, Sukh Pargas. After death, all their funeral obsequies are performed according to the rites of the Vedas; and they burn the corpse on a fire, and build a Samadh (mausoleum) over it; and after the death of one of their Gurus, the chief disciple sits on the throne.

3rd. Banparast also is the name of a kind of mendicantship; these people, leaving their families, go to the woods, and perform penance, and undergo various kinds of fastings and afflictions.

4. Sanniasa is also the name of a kind of mendicantship, which has principally spread from Suami Sankaracharg widow remarriage is forbidden. The expression "throw the sheet over" is applied to marrying a widow.

⁹⁷ Repeating mantras, i.e., prayers or charms, and sipping water at sunrise, midday and sunset.

⁹⁸ The name of a mantra, repeated by Brahmans, whilst turning their rosaries.

⁹⁹ Their only desire is offspring, and if the cohabitation results in a child being conceived, they leave their wives and go off.

and Dattatreya. The Sanniasis are of ten kinds, namely, Bans, Bhartis, Aranns, Giris, Puris, Parbats, Sarassutis, Tiraths, Sagars, Asrams; and these ten kinds are known as the Dasnams (ten names).

All the above titles are affixed at the end of the names of the Sanniasis; e.g., Ram Ban, Gopal Bharti, Sib Arann, Deo Giri, &c., are well known (names); and of whatever sect a Sanniasi may be, that title is affixed to his name. These people formerly used to reverence all the Vedas and Vedantas; but now, except the Paramhansas, all the other Sanniasis, who are called Gusains, have begun to acknowledge the religion of a goddess named Bala Sundari. There is not much difference between this creed and the Bammarg, which they also call the Sakat Dharm; (in fact) there is only this much difference, that the Sakatakas, agreeably to the rites laid down in the Sastras, read charms and couplets, and perform worship and penance, whilst the former read the songs and prayers composed in the dialect of this country, and worship the goddess with them; those five things, flesh, wine, falsehood, adultery, and mudras,¹⁰⁰ which the Sakatakas eschew, these also eschew them, and make no difference therein. Many other people from associating with Gusains have also entered this sect, and they call the name of this sect the Kundapanth. The customs of the Gusains are as follows: they do not wear the Brahminical thread or tuft of hair, and, like the Girisatis, do not perform any funeral rites or obsequies; their distinguishing marks are wearing rosaries, made of seeds of the rudrachh tree, and reddish yellow clothes, and besmearing themselves with ashes. They do not burn their dead bodies, but rather, having filled a large pot with salt, they bury the corpse in it, and then, erecting a mausoleum over it, continually do worship to it; many of them adopt a naked state; others marry, and others, having received instruction, become Paramhansas, but they are all called Sanniasis.

In the same way as the Sanniasis are known by ten names, so also are there twelve orders of the Jogis: all these orders are known by the title of Nath. The customs of the Jogis, as laid down in the Patanjali Sastra, are not now observed by any of them, but the Jogis of the present time principally follow the rules of the Kundapanth, which have become prevalent amongst the Gusains. These people greatly

¹⁰⁰ A kind of worship with the hands joined together, the fingers being intertwined.

reverence Bhairon and Kali also. This is their custom that they make a hole in their ears, and wear earrings, and carry a small musical pipe, attached to a thread, round their neck; when any Jogi dies, they bury him like the Gusains. These people do not read the Vedas or Sastras at all, but obtain pleasure from reading the verses composed in the time of Gorakhnath. Amongst them, those, who pierce their ears and wear earrings, are called darsanis (prudent), and those, who do not pierce their ears, are called aughars (indiscreet). As Gorakhnath, who was the founder of this sect, in his commands, forbade them to marry and settle, they, therefore, merely take the children of some Girisati for their disciples, and thus continue their lineage, and, at last, having given the throne to that disciple, they die.

The account of the Bairagis, who live in this country, is as follows: Rama Nand, who is known as Rama Nuj in the Sastras, founded their sect. These people wear the Brahminical thread and tuft of hair, and observe the funeral rites and obsequies and all the other religious rites laid down in the Vedas. If any Bairagi should die, then like the Girisatis, they throw him into a fire, and, on the fourth day, collecting his bones, send them to the Ganges. This is their custom, that they believe in Visnu Bhagwan and Ram Kisan, with his other incarnations; and, besides him, they do not place the slightest faith in any other god or goddess. Their distinguishing marks are to wear a necklace of basil round their throats, to make a high-reaching mark on their foreheads, and to wear white clothes. Until a Bairagi has been to Duarka and had the mark made on his shoulder with the shell and heated quoit, till then the other Bairagis will not let him come into their eating square. These people do not eat bread cooked by the hands of any one else, and are very firm in their abstinence and purity, and regard it as wrong even to touch any one else. These people used formerly not to marry, but now many of them become heads of a house (i.e., marry). They also take many disciples from amongst the Girisatis, and fix their religious thoughts on Visnu. As the Bairagis worship Visnu, and believe in no one else but him, for this reason, the name of their sect has been called Vaisno Dharm. These people so greatly detest meat, wine, and other unlawful edibles, that they do not utter the names of these things in their dreams even.

Now the account of the Udasis is as follows: they regard themselves as disciples of Nanak, and follows his rights and

customs. Baba Siri Chand, who was the eldest son of Baba Nanak, founded their sect, and began to practise customs different from former Jogis and Sanniasis. Although they are divided into four orders still all of them collectively are called Udasis. This is the custom of these people ; when they leave the Girisat state and become saints, then they do not marry. Some of them wear long hair on their heads, and some short hair ; and some have a custom of twisting the hair round the head like long ropes, and some regard it as proper to shave their heads and faces. These people regard all the customs at birth, death, and burial, according to the rites of the Vedas, but they do not wear a Brahminical thread or tuft of hair. Their distinguishing marks are to wear clothes dyed in red brick dust, and to have a high mark on their forehead, and to read the Granth Sahib. Although they burn their dead bodies, still they always erect mausoleums over them like the Jogis and Sanniasis. Although formerly these people used to remain much absorbed in the worship of God only, now certain of them have become great men of the world, and pursue agriculture, and have thrones and houses, and quarrel about small pieces of land ; certainly, in some places there are some very good saints of their sect, but they do not live in houses, and, being without avarice, beg for bread, and thus gain their subsistence. After the death of an Udasi also, the seat goes to the eldest disciple, and no other disciple can lay any claim to it. Some of them also are very severe on themselves, and make a hole in their person, and put on a lock of very heavy iron or steel, in the hope that they may escape from the evil practices of the world. These people address one another as Bhaiji, and, morning and evening, playing on cymbals and harps, sing the worship and praises of their God.

There are many sects among the Nanak Panthis ; of them one sect is called Suthra. These people formerly might have been good, but now it consists of those men, who drink wine and eat meat, and gamble, and becoming debauched, live extravagantly in their homes, and then, leaving their families, go and join the sect of the Suthra. The followers of this sect of mendicants know no worship or service, but they are great hands at taking charas and bhang, and in committing sin. Formerly, some good fakir, who was their chief man, caused it to be written by one of the latter kings, that if any of these fakirs went to a market, the market folks were to give him a pice each as a present ; accordingly, these

people always beat their sticks together in the bazaar, and beg for pice in every market, and fill up their sins to the full. They wear round their head and neck a thread of black wool, and, on their forehead, a black mark; and they carry two little (castinet) sticks in their hands. Although these people perform the customs at births, deaths and marriages according to the rites of the Sastras, still they do no other worship or devotion. When a Suthra dies, then, having burnt him according to the rites of the Sastras, they build a mausoleum over him, and, having collected his bones, throw them into the Ganges. These people are all called Sah, and they accordingly always affix the title Sah after their names; as for instance, Rawel Sah, Chabeli Sah, Sirni Sah, and Pauri Sah. These people read nothing but the verses of Nanak and the praises of the goddess (of Juala Mukhi); and wherever there are places of worship or mausoleums of the ten Gurus, commencing from Nanak, there they go and offer oblations, and worship and do homage. These people regard the uttering of every bad or good word in a shameless way as truth and sincerity; and whoever associates with them, becomes quite an adept in shamelessness and debauchery. In the Panjab, there is no city where there is not a house of the Suthras, and, owing to their kindness, the children of the cities become quite depraved. Although, amongst them there is the rank of Guru and disciple, still there is no idea of respect and disrespect amongst them; the Guru, seated before his disciples, laughs with dancing girls, and the disciple, seated before his Guru, drinks wine. In Short, in the Panjabi tongue, Suthra signifies good, but these people, contrary to this, body and soul, are bad; there is no knowing what goodness the last king (before mentioned) saw in them, that he made every one pay tribute to them; in my opinion, if the market-folk were to leave off giving them money, and they were to work, or beg for flour and bread, like other fakirs, and get their living in this way, then the sons of great men would not adopt this kind of mendicancy.

In this country, that sect, who are the Diwana saints, they also are called the disciples of Nanak. Some amongst them are good fakirs, and do worship to God. These people, like other Sikhs, wear long hair and carry a necklace of shells round their necks. Jatts and Chumars principally become followers of this sect; on their heads, they have a very long peacock feather, and they are always repeating to themselves "Sattnam." Of them, many are married, and some un-

married; all their customs are like those of the Sikhs and Udasis, and they reverence the Granth Sahib.

Among the followers of Nanak, one sect is called the Nirmala Sadhu; originally these people were of the sect of the Guru Gobind Singh, but, on account of their ancient origin, they are also called the disciples of Nanak; these people are very perfect Sikhs, and, with heart and soul, firmly believe in the Granth of the Guru. Formerly, agreeably to the orders of Gobind Singh, they acknowledged none but the Sikh religion, but now, many of them, having read the Vedantas and Sastras, have become Paramhansas. Formerly, it was their custom to wear no clothes, except of a white colour, but now, agreeably to the orders of the Vedantas, they have begun to adopt clothes of a reddish yellow colour. These people formerly, agreeably to the orders of Gobind Singh, lived principally at Anmritsar and Mukatsar and other places of pilgrimage, but now, copying the Sanniasis and Paramhansas, they have begun to live a good deal on the banks of the Ganges and Jamna, and at Banaras and other places. These people regard the customs at birth and death agreeably to the rites of the Sastras, and burn the dead body in the fire, but at marriages, they erect a wooden canopy under which they get married;¹⁰¹ they do not regard it as right to perform their marriages according to the decrees of the Vedas.

In this country, amongst the disciples of Nanak, there has arisen, from a short time back, a sect called the Gulab-dasis, and their circumstances are as follows: they do not regard God as the Creator of the world; these people are atheists and very wicked; they say that all this world was formed of itself from the effects of the five elements, and that the account, which is given in the Sastras, of hell and heaven, and punishment and salvation, is false; for when a man dies, then his body remains here, and, afterwards having fallen into pieces, joins with its own elements, and no one goes to heaven or hell. Although these people give themselves out as Vedantas, still there is a great difference between them and the Vedantas; for the Vedantas hold that the soul is separate from the body, whilst these think that there is nothing but the body; rather they say this, that, from the influence of the five elements, something or other has become the impeller

¹⁰¹ A ved is a wooden canopy or pavilion, under which Hindu marriages are performed.

of the body, and there is no soul. Although these people, from fear of the world, have customs like other Hindus, and regard caste also, still, in their inward hearts, they have no respect for caste. These people do not acknowledge the Vedas, Purans or other books, and fearlessly commit every evil deed, and do exactly as suits their pleasure. This is their custom, that they regard the pleasure derived from eating food and dressing as the very highest profit (in life); and, although they are very wicked and abominable, still they call themselves saints. Baba Gulabdas, who was formerly an Udasi fakir, founded their sect, and he himself was a very depraved man and an atheist, and had no fear of this world or the next, and lived in a village called Chattha in the district of Kasur. From associating with him, the minds of thousands of men have been perverted, and they have become atheists; he too, for the sake of teaching his disciples, composed many Granths of his own faith. Their customs at births and deaths are not fixed according to any book, but at those times, they perform whatever ceremony may suit the occasion.¹⁰² In short, these people, by their counsels, have made the inhabitants of this country very depraved; and the other Sikhs of this country, if they know that any one belongs to this sect, will not allow him to enter their line¹⁰³ for eating and drinking; and all other people also are very loath to associate with them, and do not care to drink water from them. In the Sastras their sect is called the Charbak.

Now, in this country, there are people called Saraugis; their account is also follows: they are called Jainis, that is to say, they follow the religion of a most holy man called Jin. These people pull out all the hair of their head every six months, and always fasten a strip of white cloth over their mouths.¹⁰⁴ They carry with them a broom of white wool, which they, in their language, call rajohana; and whenever they wish to sit down, they first clean the spot with the broom, so that no insect may come under them, and be killed. These people do not possess much goods, clothes, vessels, or money; but are very great hermits and ascetics. They keep very

¹⁰² That is, the custom is that a body should be burnt in the day and not at night, but these people burn their dead at all hours both of the day and night, as necessity requires.

¹⁰³ Hindus do not sit round in a circle to eat their food, but in a line.

¹⁰⁴ This is done to prevent their killing any animal or insect with their breath even, as they hold it, as the greatest sin, to kill any living thing.

severe fasts, for often they do not bring food to their mouths for a month at a time; when these people go to beg, then, taking into consideration matters which are very difficult to understand,¹⁰⁵ they take food; and, although other people do not indulge in the custom of giving them bread and water (food), still the tradespeople, who are their disciples, and know all their customs, do service to them with very great affection. These people regard the slaying of an insect as a very serious crime, and, from fear of killing an insect, they will not drink uncooked water, but if, by begging, they can anywhere get water that has been heated, or the water left over in vessels, in which people have cooked their food, they clear it and drink it, and satisfy themselves; and they will not drink it, if they have to draw it themselves from a well or river. From fear of killing an insect, they do not wear shoes on their feet or any cloth on their head; and, as they have found out that animals die in water, for this reason they bathe very little, rather, on account of having to use water, they always keep their clothes soiled and their bodies dirty. What a wonderful thing is this, that, although these people perform such severe acts and hardships, still they do not believe in God! Their belief is this, that all this world, from time everlasting, has gone on making and destroying itself, and there was no creator of it; and what a wonderful thing is this also, that they regard no creator of this world or any giver of happiness and pain. Still according to their religion, they do service to, and worship, the twenty-four incarnations; and amongst these twenty-four, one who is called Parasunath, and his worship they regard as very profitable. These people, in their dialect, call these twenty-four incarnations, the Tithankar. Amongst them, some make images of those Tithankars, and worship them in their homes, and some regard the worshipping of images as wrong. There are two kinds of these Saraugis; one, those who wear a strip of cloth over their mouths, and pull out the hair of their heads, and these are called Dhundiya, and the other are those who do not wear the strip of cloth, and do not pull out the hair of their head; and they are called Jatis. Those, who are called Dhundiya, they do not possess any houses or goods or money; but the

¹⁰⁵ That is to say, they ask if a person's family has already eaten, and if the reply is that they have, the Jainis will partake of their food: if not, they will not, lest one loaf should run short, and another cooking be therefore necessary, in which water &c., would have to be used, and the lives of some insects be sacrificed, the sin of which, they consider, would attach to them.

Jatis possess thousands of rupees and property and land, besides many other things. Although there is much difference between the conduct and habits and customs of the two, still their faith is one. These people do not believe in the Vedas or Purans, nor do they reverence the places of pilgrimage or fasts, laid down in any of the Sastras : the religious works of these people also are not written in Sanskrit, but in Prakrit, which is a very old language. Although the language is Prakrit, still the letters are not so, but they write all their religious books in the letters used in the Sastras. They do not marry, but their customs at death, in burning the dead body, are like those of other Hindus ; and if any married disciple becomes the followers of these people, he is called a Saraugi. Although Brahmans and Khatris, from associating with them, have begun somewhat to believe in the Saraug religion, still Bhabras and baniyas¹⁰⁶ chiefly follow this persuasion. Those Bhabras and baniyas, who belong to this denomination, although they wear the tuft of hair on their heads, at the same time do not wear the Brahminical thread round their throat. Those people do not hold funeral or marriage feasts, and do not perform any funeral obsequies, according to the rites of the Vedas or Purans. This is the custom of these Saraugis, that they may not undertake any business or traffic, in which there can be loss of life to any animal ; hence, when they undertake any traffic or sale, then they only sell such precious, or dry, things in which no insect nor any animal can come ; accordingly, some of them are cloth merchants, and bankers, and some are pedlars, and many become braziers, and get their living in this way ; and they none of them sell any wet, greasy, or sweet things. There is also another caste of Saraugis, who are known by the name of Oswars, but none of them are to be met with in the Panjab : they principally live in the land of Marwar, that is to say in the neighbourhood of Bikaner, Jaipur, and Jodhpur. Although all their written codes of the Saraugis, regarding religion, mercy, patience, and continence are very good, still, as they do not regard God as the Creator, for this reason, people regard them as infidels and unbelievers.

Those people, who live in this country, and who are called the Dadupanthiyas, their religion was founded by a cotton corder, called Dadu Ram. These people are very very good and religious and beloved of God, and they, thoroughly

¹⁰⁶ The Bhabras are of a Jain caste, chiefly engaged in traffic and the baniyas are a Hindu caste, generally merchants.

believing in the Vedas, Sastras and Purans acknowledge all its other customs, but they will not agree to wear the Brahminical thread or tuft of hair. It appears that formerly Dadu Ram used to give them advice about religion, but, now, several of them, having studied Sanskrit, have become Vedantas. Several amongst them get their living by asking alms, and others, by taking service in the army, gain a means of livelihood. None of them marry, but, by simply adopting a disciple, thus continue their line. These people are very good in their love and affection, and, as much as possible, remain attached, to their Creator.

Now the account of all the Hindus, who live in this land, is as follows : that there is very little reliance to be placed on any single word they say ; some worship gods and goddesses and the shrines and burying places of the dead, and others, forsaking the religion of the Vedas and Sastras, which was the primeval religion of the Hindus, have begun to do service to Sarwar Sultan, and demons and evil spirits ; and there are very few, who worship God, the Creator, as their Maker and Destroyer according to the religion which was handed down to them from the beginning. Behold the people of other religions, how firm they are, for they never forsake their own religion and adopt that of the Hindus ; but the Hindus are so unstable that, if they even hear the praise of a brick anywhere, they begin to rub their noses against it for the sake of obtaining food or offspring.¹⁰⁷ Many Brahmans also may be seen of such a nature, that they do not at all know the value of their own religion ; but wherever they hear of the shrine of any saint or of any old tomb, there they will begin to burn lamps and offer flowers ; and they do not understand this, that no one can give them happiness but God. In this way, many Khatris also, for the sake of pleasing Visnu, fast all day long, on the 11th day of the light and dark half of every month, and if that day should be a Thursday, then, for the sake of pleasing Sarwar Sultan, who was a Musalman of the Multan district, at night they sleep on the ground and keep vigils¹⁰⁸ ; and they do not see that, according to the ordinances of the Sastras it is proper to worship Visnu, and

¹⁰⁷ That is to say, they offer up their prayers and make their vows at the shrines, made of brick, of deceased saints, and rub their noses against the bricks, saying, that if they shall obtain a good cow, which shall give plenty of milk, they will make an offering of such and such an amount, and that if they shall be blessed with offspring, they will offer certain thank-offerings.

¹⁰⁸ They sleep on the ground, instead of on a bed, from religious

that Sarwar Sultan, who was a Musalman, is not mentioned in their books ; therefore why should they worship him? In this way, the creeds of the people of this country are innumerable ; not one in a thousand of them believes in his religion, and, although they are outwardly called Hindus, still, inwardly they profess various kinds of religion, and do not place their faith in any one single thing.*

motives that is to say, in order to fulfil a pilgrimage without sleeping on a bedstead and that is called, keeping vigils. The custom is that whenever a company of pilgrims stop at any place on their journey, those who intend to join them from the surrounding villages, come there, and bring many of their friends with them. They all keep watch through the night and do not sleep, and in the morning, the friends of the pilgrims bid them farewell and return home.

* By the word *Vedantas* on pp. 115 and 119 the author obviously means those who follow the school of the Vedanta.

CHAPTER XIX

MUSIC AND SONGS OF THE PANJAB

Now this is the account of the songs of this country ; that those six rags, or musical modes, which are known in all countries according to the rites of the Sastras, these they also use in the Panjab. The six modes, according to the ordinances of the Sastras, are these ; the first Bhairon, the second Malkaus, the third Hindol, the fourth Dipak, the fifth Siri, and the sixth is known as the Megh mode : and there are five female modes, and eight infant modes, (modifications), of each of these modes, and these are sung with various variations, and they all have different embellishments. They do not sing these modes at all times, but some they sing in the morning, and some in the evening ; accordingly, they sing the Bhairon about the morning watch (3 a.m.) and the second Malkaus at midnight ; and the Hindol, when one watch of the day has gone (10 a.m.) ; and the Dipak exactly at midday ; and the fifth which is the Siri mode, that they sing at evening ; and the Megh mode, whenever it rains. All these kinds are written fully about in the book called the Rāgmala, and if any one wants to know more about them, let him look in that book. All these six modes are sung in the seven notes, and he who does not understand the seven notes, he cannot properly tell the forms of the male and female modes. The names of the seven notes are as follows : the first Kharj, the second Rikhabh, the third Gandhar, the fourth Maddham ; the name of the fifth is Pancham, the sixth is called Dhaiwat, and the seventh Nikhad. All of those notes occur in some of the modes ; and, in some modes, six, five, or four only come in. Those modes, which are known in the world by the names of Rag and Ragni (male and female modes), are made up of no other notes but these seven ; a note is only the name of a sound ; and from the difference in their length and shortness, and sharpness and flatness, they are of seven kinds ; and whatever songs are sung in other countries, besides the Panjab, they also have no other notes but these seven. Again, whatever male or female mode may be sung, if its time should not be correct, then wise people do not regard it as pleasing. According to the rites of the Sastras, time is of twelve kinds, but all these kinds of

times are not used in the present day in this country ; those amongst them which are well known, those singers use at the time of singing ; accordingly, the three bar, and four time, and the Yakka thaththa and the times called the Sulphakata and Dhaia are now mostly used. Time is the name given to the beats (or length) of sound, and when singers begin to sing with their mouths, then others beat the time, either with their hands of some instrument, according to the measure of the mode ; and if one does not know the time and notes, then one cannot enjoy pleasure from the singing of the modes. The musicians have divided all the musical instruments in the world into three-and-a-half kinds. The first kind consists of wire instruments, amongst which are included three-stringed guitars, guitars, fiddles, bins,¹⁰⁹ &c. ; the second are wind instruments, amongst which are included flutes, trumpets, and all other such ; the third kind are skin instruments, amongst which come tambourines, kettle drums, drums, small drums, and timbrels &c. The half kind of musical instruments are those played only by the hand, or some other means, or by a cracking of the fingers, by which the measure of the mode is completed ; and these are called half instruments for this reason, that they only give a rumbling sound, and no note is distinguished in them, but in all the other instruments some of the seven notes can be distinguished. In short when musicians sing, they sing their songs according to some of these six modes.

Although Rag and Ragni are only names of the variations of singing and the adjustment of the notes, still those measures, which are sung in the Rags and Ragnis, are of several kinds ; as for example ; Dhurpad, Kabitt, Chhand, Sargam, Khial, Tappa, Tarana, &c., and all these measures are used in the Rags. All these measures, according as they are sung in different Rags and Ragnis, (manifest) different pleasures and different forms. The Dhurpad and other measures, which are mentioned above, are not only used with songs in the Panjabi language, but when the people of the Panjab sing, they also sing them to Brijbhasa and Hindi words, which correspond to the Sanscrit.

Dhurpad is the name of measures of the following kind :

Khahio he udho, tum nai jo bija biyog, man kino maddham,
birwa laga radha ke man.

¹⁰⁹ An instrument something like a Jews' harp.

Drig talan kup kino asuan jal bhar bhar palakan sinch sinch
tantere bhaye birha sakal ban.

Dhuan wirag hirde jar pandhi rom ros panch ban rach hiyen
Kach kuch ris bhar liyen.

Laj bhare naina.

Ras ke prabhu pritam phal phul nag aur beg dares dijo ji
dhan man.

The meaning,¹¹⁰ of the above is this, that once on a time, the cowherdresses sent and told Krisan, by the mouth of a devotee called Udho, of the affliction (they suffered) in their separation, saying "O Udho! do you go to him and say thus; 'The separation which you have sown (in your hearts), it has become a tree in the mind of Radha, and her heart has become languid' and then they said this, "Our eyes, from crying, have filled the tanks and wells with the water of our tears; and the eyelids of all our eyes, having irrigated (the ground) with the water of crying, have caused trees to spring up from the pain of separation." Then they said "The smoke (of the fire) of separation from you has entirely burnt up our hearts, and all the hairs of our wicked bodies, having become distressed, have created great uproar, and Kam Deo (Cupid) has struck the five arrows into our hearts. Say that our (kach, that is the) hair of our heads, and our (kuch) breasts are filled with anger, for they are filled with ris, i.e., passion; and as our eyes are filled with shame, we cannot tell our state to any one." The composer of this Dhrupad, a poet named Ras, said this on the part of the cowherdresses. "O Lord of Ras, Krisan ju! quickly send and give us a sight of yourself; for you are our wealth and desire and you are our flower and fruit, and you are our green shoot, and you only are our (pritam) beloved one."

¹¹⁰ The following is the translation of the above:

O Udho! go and tell (Krisan) that since he sowed the seed of separation our hearts have become listless, and (separation) has become planted like a tree on the heart of Radha.

The water of the tears of our eyes have filled the ponds and wells; our eyelids, from the flow of tears (caused) by separation from him, have indeed all become like a forest full of trees.

The smoke of his separation has burnt our hearts, the hairs of our wicked bodies have all become angry, and have struck the five arrows into our hearts.

The hairs of our heads, and our breasts, are filled with rage.

Our eyes are filled with shame.

O Lord of Ras! thou art our beloved, our fruit, our flowers, our young shoots; do thou quickly show thyself to us, our health and desire.

The five arrows referred to in the third line are lust, anger, covetousness, love, and pride.

Kabitt is the name of a measure of the following kind :

Jab te padhare pran piare sukhdenware akkhian panare
bah rahin hai hiyara.

Ka so manpir dhar dhir ko sunaun ali birahon jarai haun
na hoi tan siyara.

Jo pai sudh pati to na akkhian lagati bhul ab jo uklati
haun na bujhe prit diyara.

Abe ghan sayam mite birahon witha ki ghiam bina hari
ae sukh pawe nanhi jiyara.¹¹¹

The meaning of this is as follows : that, once on a time, Radha, being distressed by the absence of Sri Krisn, began to say "O my companions ! from the day that my heart's love and giver of pleasure, Sri Krisn, has departed, my eyes have begun to flow like torrents ; alas ! alas ! O my soul ! what shall I do now ?" Then she said "O companion ! now having comforted my heart, how can I tell its grief to any one ? alas ! alas ! I, from separation, am being burnt, but my body does not become cool. If I had known that there was so much pain in love, then, from forgetfulness even, I would not have joined my eyes in love, and now, that I am distressed and agitated, the light of love cannot be extinguished in my heart ; if Ghan Siyam, i.e., Sri Krisn shall come, the sunshine of the pain of separation will not be hidden, and if he shall not come, then, without him my life will not obtain pleasure." In this stanza, the poet has shown this cleverness, viz., he has said that when a black cloud comes before the sunshine, it becomes shade ; now Ghan Siyam is the name of a black cloud, so when Sri Krisnji, who is called the black cloud, shall come, then the sunshine of the pain of her separation would be removed (i.e., thrown into shade).

Chhand is the name of a stanza of this kind, viz. :—

Janam jat hai britha pia bin kanso kahun pukar
Dibas rain kal parat na moko nain bahit jaldhar ;

¹¹¹ Since you left, O beloved of my life ! O giver of joy ! my eyes have become water spouts, and (my tears) have flowed in streams ; alas, O my heart ! (what shall I do ?)

O companion ! to whom shall I, fortifying my heart, tell my sorrow ? separation has so burnt me up, that my body will not cool down ;

If I had known the pains of love, I would not even forgetfully have fixed my eyes on thee ; but now I am distressed, the flicker of my love will not extinguish.

If Ghan Siam (Krisn) shall come, then the cloud of separation and absence will be removed ; without Hari's coming, my heart cannot obtain joy.

Sukh ko rukh kat dukh boyo ab hu lehu sanbhar
Kai dukh haro miratmukh daro he puran kartar.¹¹²

The meaning of this is, that a certain wife, in the absence of her husband, is saying "My life (lit. birth) is being wasted without my beloved; to whom shall I call out, and tell this my grief? Beloved! I do not obtain rest by day or night; the water of my weeping eyes flows forth like a stream." Then, placing her thoughts on her husband, she begins to say "O Beloved! thou hast uprooted the tree of my pleasure, and hast sown grief in my heart; for this reason I have become very helpless; if thou wilt remember me now, it will be well, otherwise thou wilt not again see me alive!"; then, turning her soul to God, she says "O Perfect Creator! by some means let me meet my husband, and remove my grief; otherwise grant me death, for life with so much grief is not agreeable to me."

Sargam is the name of a stanza of this kind, viz. ;

Nis gama papa dhama pama gagga mama dhadha, nini
dhama pama ga ;

Dhani sasa sare nini dhadha mama dhadha nini dhama
pama ga,

Dhani dhamak dhamak dhani sasa nini sa sani sirig
sar nini dhadha mama dhadha nini dhama pama
ga.

This stanza has no meaning; sargam is merely the name for adjusting the notes; by taking the first letter of each the seven notes, kharj, rikhabh, gandhar, maddham, pancham, dhaiwat, nikhad, which were mentioned before, the seven letters, s r g m p dh ni, are obtained. In short, if one wishes to take the name of any of these seven notes, then from saying that one letter, the whole name is understood; thus from saying *kh*, kharj, from saying *r*, rikhabh, from saying *g*, gandhar, from saying *m*, maddham, from saying *p*, pancham, from saying *dh*, dhaiwat, from saying *ni*, nikhad, are understood; in this way there are seven letters for the seven notes. In the gamut of any mode, one can tell from the letter which comes first, that note is the first note of that rag; so, in this last verse, the letters in the gamut come in

¹¹² My life has passed uselessly without my husband; to whom shall I cry out and tell my state?

Day and night I obtain no rest, my eyes rain streams (of tears);

The tree of joy has been cut down, that of pain has been sown; now even I pray thee, take notice of my condition;

Either remove my pain or kill me, O Thou Perfect Creator!

the order *ni s g m*, &c.; therefore it is known that in this rag, *nikhad* comes first, then *kharij*, then *gandhar*, and then *maddham*; and in whatever rag or ragni, these letters occur first, it is called *Kamach Ragni*; and thus one can tell them all. In the *Sastri* language, in place of *kh*, they say *s*; for this reason the first letter of *kharij*, is written as *s*.

Khial is the name of a verse of this kind, viz.—

Umad ghamand ghan aiori mai
Barkha rut apni garaj garaj chahun or baras bundan
jhar lagai,
Paban parwain badaria chamakat bhig bhig gai hamar;
chunria,
Kaise kar aun ri main pia ko samajhaun.¹¹³

The meaning of this is; that a wife, at a time, when it was raining, in the absence of her husband, writes and sends this to her mother-in-law; "O mother! how can I come to your house, for the clouds have come rolling from all four quarters, and the rainy season, according to its will, is thundering around, and the rain is dropping continually on all four sides, and as at this time the east wind is blowing, and the clouds are gathering, my sheet has been wetted in it, then, how can I come at this time, and, O mother-in-law! then how shall I draw my husband out of his anger, and conciliate him?" It must be understood, that her husband was angry in the house, and her mother-in-law wrote to the wife and said "Do you come and conciliate your husband," and the wife wrote and sent back this stanza in reply to her mother-in-law.

Tappa is the name of a stanza of this kind, viz :

Re janewale sain di kasam pher au nainawale,
Aunde jande tusin dil lai jande au sajan gal lagg
sahansah matwale.¹¹⁴

113 O mother! the clouds have come with great violence; it is the rainy season; of its own will it thunders around, and the rain drops are streaming down;

The wind is from the east, the lightning shines; my sheets have become wet;

How shall I come and tell my husband (my state?).

114 O departer! I swear by God, I pray thee come back, O beautiful-eyed one!

Coming and going away, you have carried off my heart; come, friend, and embrace me, O drunken one! (thus writes *Sahansah* the composer.

Sahansah has no meaning; it is merely brought in to point out the composer, as it is usual to insert his name, at the end of all verses.

In short, the stanza, called tappa, does not occur in any language but Panjabi, and Manjha, and Sindhi ; there are also a few very curious tappas, which people sing in the language of the Suketmandi hills. The meaning of the above (stanza) is this, that a poet, named Sahansah, says to some woman "O passing-by friend ! Do thou, for God's sake, come back again ;" and then he says "O beautiful-eyed one ! thou, coming and going, hast robbed my heart, and hast taken it away ; therefore now come O drunken friend ! and embrace me."

Tarana is the name of a verse of this kind, viz. :—

Taradim tanadim nadani re tadani,
Udedana dirana tannu dirana tannu dirana tana
dirana,
Ta magar hamchun saba baj bajula phetu rasam,
Hasalam dosat baju nal he sabarigir na bud.

In this stanza, called tarana, there is no meaning ; like sargam, tarana is only the name of the order of the notes ; but the singing of sargam and tarana is very difficult ; and none but very good singers can sing them. In this, there are two lines "tanadim tanadim ;" and after them, some Persian verse, like that given above, is added and mixed up along with it ; and then the tanadim tanadim is again repeated. On hearing the tarana, the musicians, who beat the drums and little drums, and give the time for this rag, become very confused, as giving the proper time for a sargam or tarana rag is very difficult, and none but a first-rate musician can give the proper time ; many people sing the sargam and tarana in such a wonderful way (!) that the musicians' hands cease playing the instruments, and the melody is interrupted.

Visanpada is the name of a verse of this kind, viz. :

Govind, nam sudharas piye,
Alas tayag jag kar manas janam suphal kar lije.

(Chorus) Govind. &c.

**Chhin chhin hokar andh sirani jatha amghat pani,
Balubhit saman dehsukh ta maun man nahin dije.**

(Chorus) Govind, &c.

Bikhayan maun bahu janam bihane nahin ram.
sudh lini ;
An achanak jam nai pakaro dekhath hi sukh chhije.

(Chorus) Govind, &c.

Mat pita sut banata bandhaw nehun bandhe dukh
pawe.

Sardha sant na pawe koi bina ram ras bhije.¹¹⁵

The meaning of this is that a poet, named Sardha Ram, according to the custom of this country, gives advice to all people, saying "O people! drink the water of immortality of the name of God; eschew negligence and, waking from the sleep of thoughtlessness, make your life fruitful. Behold the life of man passes away and, drop by drop, leaks like water through an unbaked vessel, and can be seen passing away; so also is your life passing away day by day. Regard the pleasure of the body as a wall of sand, which perishes quickly, and give not your soul to them!" Again he says "O people! much of your life has passed in sloth, and you have not taken thought of your God; but reflect, when death shall suddenly come and seize you, then all your pleasures will be gone; the soul, which is bound up in the love for father, mother, wife, son, or other relations suffers pain." The poet named Sardha Ram says "so long as a person does not enjoy the pleasure of God, he never obtains contentment."

Visanpadas are of various kinds; some are about the greatness of God, and man's servitude, and some about the sports of Krisanji and Ramji; and others are about separation. Although every Visanpada should be either of eight, or of four, lines, still if any are of less or more lines than this, they do not consider it any fault; and the opening bar, which is at the opening of every Visanpada, is, at the time of singing, brought in and sung (as chorus) after each couplet: some people also look on the Visanpadas as songs (sawad);

¹¹⁵ The name of God is like nectar, drink it;
Leave off sloth, awake, and make profitable the life of (thy)
manhood;

Chorus. The name of God, &c.

Thy life will gradually pass away as water leaks through unburnt pots.
The body enjoys pleasure (which is) like a wall of sand (and easily
totters away); therefore do not fix thy mind on it!

Chorus. The name of God, &c.

When (thy) life has been passed in folly, and thou hast had no
thought of God,

The angel of death will come suddenly and seize thee, and in an
instant thy joy will depart.

Chorus: The name of God, &c.

If mother, father, son, wife, relations or any worldly love have won
thy heart, thou wilt suffer grief.

Sardha (the composer says) "no one will obtain true life, until he
becomes absorbed in the name of God."

Accordingly, in the Granth of Nanak, all those Visanpadas, that are inserted therein, are called songs. In the East, those people, who sing the Visanpadas, are known as Bhajans.

All the songs that are current in the Panjab and Hindustan are generally about love making; some, on the part of wives, sing about the pain of absence from their husbands, and some, on the part of husbands, extol their wives.

In short the Tappa, Khial, Dhurpad, and the other tunes which are used, are all full of love; but when a Visanpada is sung, to whatever kind of words it be sung, still the worship of God is necessarily related in it; and, from hearing it, the love of people is, in a more or less degree, drawn to God.

All the respectable folk of this land use all the above kinds of rags and ragnis, but the common people, who do not understand the science of music, their song and metres are very coarse and quite distinct. Although all the songs, which are sung by the common people of this country, on account of their being full of great immodesty, cannot be written here, I will, however, just mention a few kinds, which are not outwardly so bad. All the songs, current in this land, are full of love-making matters. Most of the people of this country sing, in the Panjabi tongue, those songs, which were originally written in the Persian letters from alif down to ye. In these verses, which are called chand, there are four lines thus:

Alaf Au piare dekhi hal mera main tan kunj wangu
kurlaundi han;
Mere nain tarsan tere dekhne nun dine rat main
kag udaundi han;
Tere rah di wal main khari dekhan atthe pahir main
ausian paundi han,
Kadi au jani gal lagg mere tere nam nun sada
dhiaundi han.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ Come, beloved, and see my state, how I am bemoaning like the crows;

My eyes are longing to see you; day and night, I am flying crows;
I am anxiously watching the road for your return, and am, all day long, drawing lines;

Come at least, friend, and embrace me; I am always repeating your name.

In the second line, there is an allusion to taking an omen from crows. If an astrologer sees some crows, and any one wishes to know if a certain person will return, he questions the crows: if they fly away, he will return; otherwise, he will not.

In the third line, another way of taking an omen is alluded to, which is thus done; a horizontal long line is drawn, and under it, a number of small vertical lines are quickly drawn; they are then counted up: if

The meaning of this is evident, that a wife, in the absence of her husband, is uttering forth her grief.

Although their verses are of many kinds, still a verse called *dudhi* is now chiefly sung in the Panjab, e.g. ;

Alaf Asa nun a mil janin kinu main mano bhulai
sudh bisarai ;

Os ghari nun main pachhtawan jad main prit lagai
hoi sudai ;

Meri jan dukhan nai gheri jad to bani judai at
dukh dai ;

Main balihar au ghar mere hun na karin parai je
lar lai.¹¹⁷

The meaning of this is evident, that a wife sends a message to her engaged, saying, "Do you come and join me quickly ?"

In this country there is a song called *dhola*, thus—

Meri kattani de whichch chaunk hai ;

Mai nun pia de milan da saunk hai ;

Jind pai taras di dhola.¹¹⁸

Some *dholas* are of such a description that their meaning cannot at all be understood, but they sound pleasing, owing to their being sung with a long accompaniment to the singing.

Again, in this country, a song, called *Sadd* is well known, the sons of *jamindars* chiefly sing it. These songs are principally sung regarding the state of *Sassi* and *Pannun*, and *Mirja* and *Sahaban*, who, in that neighbourhood, were renowned as great lovers, and gave their lives in that cause.

They call the following kind of songs *Sadds*, e.g. :—

Sun punnun de dukkh nun sassi ni main ape maut
kabuli ;

Pi sarab main kecham pahuncha meri sudh budh
sabbo bhuli ;

the total number of these vertical lines is an odd number, the person will return, if even, he will not.

117 (Alaf). O friend ! come and join me ; why have you forgotten me, and why do you take no thought of me ?

I repent that hour when I gave you my love, and became mad ;

Sorrow has enshrouded my life ; since I have been separated from you, I have been greatly distressed ;

I sacrifice myself to you, come to my home ; regard me not as a stranger, since you have taken me as a friend.

118 My head ornament is in my spinning basket ;

I have a desire to meet my husband ;

Dhola (says) "My soul longs for thee."

Deh didar hun jhahde mai nun isak anheri jhuli ;
Main anjan na bolan jana mai nun isak jharai
suli.¹¹⁹

The meaning of this is as follows ; that a Baloch, named Punnun, of a city called Kecham, who was a friend of Sassi, came and stopped with the princess called Sassi. His (the Baloch's) brothers, having made him senseless by intoxicating him with drink, were taking him to the city Kecham ; when he recovered his senses, then, weeping, he turned his thoughts to Sassi, and began to sing the song mentioned above. At last, having come to a place where the tomb of Sassi had been erected, he died.

The sadds about Mirja and Sahaban are of this description, e.g. :

Bas be bhaio kamalio mere Mirje nun na maro,
Mirja mera hatth tunde da is da marna man nadharo ;
Je Mirje nun maran laggon tan pahilan mai nun koho ;
Main sain wal te bar paia mera dili suhag na khoho.¹²⁰

The meaning of this is as follows : that a certain man called Mirja, leaving his house, ran away with his female companion, named Sahaban ; as he went along the road, he slept under a jand tree, and Sahaban was seated near him ; the brothers of Sahaban, coming up after them, wished to kill Mirja ; at that time Sahaban began to address these words (which people sing as written in the above sadd) to her brother.

In this country, many people sing songs about Hir and Ranjha, thus :

Ni mae ikk naukur rahinda tun akhen tan rakkh la-iye ;
Na kanmchor na sagat jubano jo kahiye so kahiye ;
Manjhin chare jai kinare uh di minnat mul na kariye ;
Lakh taka kurban mahi pur sir saddak kar dhariye.¹²¹

119 Punnun accepted death, on hearing of the grief of Sassi (who had died), saying:

Having drunk wine, Punnun went to Kecham, and forgot me altogether ;

Show thyself to me quickly, for the storm of love has fallen on me ;
I am ignorant and can say nothing ; love has pierced me through, and killed me.

120 O mad brothers ! do not kill my Mirja ; my Mirja is as a hand to me, who am handless ; do not think of killing him ;

If you wish to kill my Mirja, first kill me ;

I have obtained him as a husband from God ; do not kill the husband of my heart.

121 O mother ! a servant wishes to take service ; if you will give the word, I will take him on ;

The meaning of this is as follows : that a Jatt, named Ranjha, was the friend of a Jatti, named Hir, and those two wished to always live together in one place. One day, Hir said to her mother, "O mother ! a certain man wishes to live in my house as my servant ; if you will say (yes), then I will take him on ;" then she began to praise him, saying, "That servant is not lazy, nor does he ever give a sharp reply to any one, rather he is so gentle, that whatever you might wish to say, you might say, and he would not take it amiss." Again she said, "He will go ever so far, and feed our buffaloes, and it will not be necessary to entreat him like other servants ; he is a very good servant, so that if you should sacrifice a great deal to keep him, it would be well, for there will be no deficiency in him, and he is one, who performs service with all his body and soul."

Most of the people of this country, whether Hindus or Musalmans, sing various kinds of songs also in praise of a king, who is called Lakhdata, e.g. :

Hatth katora tel da ; mera pir piran wichh khelda ;
main waripira hai.¹²²

The meaning of this is as follows ; that the people, who sing them, compose songs by joining together metres, containing words like "Hatth katora" &c., with some agreeable metres with no meaning to them, but which from the long prolongation of the voice, are pleasing to listen to ; but there is no actual meaning in it.

In the same way, they go to those places, where there are graves of saints and holy men, and compose pleasing elegies, as follows :

Pir tere rauje pur ajar bahar hai ;
Jo koi tere mele awe uh da bera par hai ;
Pir tere rauje pur ghuggian da jora ;
Jo koi tere mele awe tis nun kahda tora,
Pir tere rauje pur.¹²³

He is not lazy, nor given to using hard words ; you can say what you like to him (without fear or retort) ;

He will go of himself and graze the buffaloes ; there will be no need to beg of him, or to cajole him (to do so) ;

Although you may vow a lakh of takas on that herdsman, you may do so (for he is so good, that it will not matter).

¹²² There is no meaning in these lines ; the words are simply put together for the rhythm.

¹²³ Although these words really have no meaning, they may be translated as follows :—

O saint ! around thy grave is a wonderful elegance ;

In this country, people go to pay their respects to Juala Mukhi and other goddesses, and the songs, which they sing in praise of the goddess, these they call offerings (bhet) to the goddess, e.g.:

Main awan charanan pas hatth jorke karan benti sun
meri ardas;

Wichh paharan asan tera sant bolan jai jai kare;

Sabh di karen bhauni puri bhare rahin bhandare;

Main awan charanan pas gari chhuare dhaja lalera
pahili bhet charawan,

Ad kuari durge hain tun tai nun sis nimawan,

Main awan charanan pas nanging pairin tere akbar aia
tis da man ghataia,

Hatth jorke charanin lagga sone chhatar charaia,

(Chorus). Main awan charanan pas,¹²⁴

The meaning of this is plain; in all those which are sung as songs to the goddess, their opening bar is repeated at the end of every couplet, as in a Visanpada, e.g., "Main awan charanan pas," which is repeated over and over again. Those songs, which Hindus sing with much musical accompaniment before their gods, when doing worship to them, are known by the name of arti (hymns); and these people sing different hymns for every god. For example, the hymn of Gangaji is as follows:

Jai Ganga mai;

Jo jan tera darsan pawe pap na rahisi rai

Jai Ganga mai

Tan man dhan te simaran tai nun tun jag wichh
sukhdai

Whoever shall come to thy grave, his boat will reach the opposite shore;

At thy shrine there are a pair of doves;

Whoever comes to thy grave, will suffer no loss.

¹²⁴ I have come (a petitioner) at thy feet, with joined hands; listen to my request;

Thy temple is in the hills; the pilgrims, who come to it cry "Victory Victory, (to the goddess):"

Fulfil thou the desires of (us) all, and may thy treasures always remain full;

I have come (a petitioner) at thy feet; I will first offer thee some gari, (white of cocoanut), dates, flags, and a whole cocoanut;

O Durga! thou art the first origin; I will bend my head to thee;

I have come (a petitioner) at thy feet; with bare feet, Akbar came to thee, when thou hadst lowered his pride;

With joined hands, he then paid his respects, and gave thee a golden umbrella;

I have come (a petitioner) at thy feet.

The allusion to Akbar is as follows: he is said to have disbelieved

Jo jan tera dhian karat hai mite pap ki chhai
 Jai Ganga mai
 Brihama visan manave tai nun sankar sis tikai
 Sarab jagat de pap haran nun tun dharti pur ai
 Jai Ganga mai
 Hor pap sabh dukkh niwaro man di haro burai
 Din din tere charan kamal wichh bhagati wadhi suai
 Jai Ganga mai.¹²⁵

The meaning of this is plain ; but women generally sing the best hymns.

Now those songs which the Jatts sing to their flutes are as follows :

Teri bhari juani be ranjhetia jinu ganne di ponri
 Hoi teri meri be ranjhetia hire lalan di jori
 Main pai udikan be ranjhetia pai prit di dori
 Tere balbaljawe be ranjhetia palpal radhan gori.¹²⁶

In short, some say that this song is addressed by Hir to Ranjheta, i.e., Ranjha, whilst others say, that it is addressed by Radha to Sri Krisanji.

that the fire came forth by itself, out of Juala Mukhi, and not understanding its volcanic nature, he first had a large iron plate put over its mouth to prevent the flames issuing, and then tried to extinguish them with water ; the last line means that he afterwards acknowledged his mistake and regarded it as a miracle, and presented a golden umbrella to the goddess.

125 Victory to thee, O mother Ganges !

Whatever man obtains a sight of thee, his sins will be entirely effaced (and will not appear even) as a mustard seed ;

Victory to thee, O mother Ganges !

Whoever remembers thee with all his body, soul, and wealth, thou wilt give him happiness in the world ;

Whatever man meditates on thee, the shadow of his sins will be removed,

Victory to thee, O mother Ganges !

Brahma and Vishan reverence thee ; Shiva (Sankar) has bowed his head to thee,

For the sake of removing all the sins of the world, thou didst come on the earth ;

Victory to thee, O mother Ganges !

Do away with all my sins and all my sorrows, and destroy the badness of my heart ;

Every day, (lying) at thy lotus feet, may my faith ever be increased.

Victory to thee, O mother Ganges !

126 O Ranjheta ! thy youth is full of the juice (of pleasure) like the joints of the sugar-cane.

O Ranjheta ! may the union between thee and me be like that of the ruby and diamond ;

O Ranjheta ! I am longing for thee ; thy love has bound me as with a rope ;

O Ranjheta ! the beautiful Radhan offers herself every moment as a sacrifice to thee.

Another of the rags of the Jatts is as follows :

Kachche talau dian pakkian paurian gadawa bharlia
pani da
Jande pakhir nai kuchh na dekhia joban lutt lia niani
da¹²⁷

Another rag of the Jatts, which boys sing, is as follows :

Chhaddin chhaddin be mahiraman lar mera
Main ta kadi na dithra dar tera
Na main jandi na main puchhandi tain kitthom anke
paia jehra
Chhaddin chhaddin be mahiraman lar mera.¹²⁸

Another rag of the Jatts is this :

Wagdi wagdi rawi wichch ghuggian da jora
Ikk ghuggi ud gai pai gia bichhora.¹²⁹

Another rag, which the Jatts sing at fairs, is this :

Main ramajan terian samajhan dardi na kunda kholdi
Ghari ghari awen tun pherian pawen tai nun dar nahin
rai
Je main akhan apne kaunt nun sabh bhull jawe
chatarai
Main ramajan terian samajhan dardi na kunda
kholdi.¹³⁰

The meaning of this is, that some bad man, having gone to a woman, began to say "Open the door"; that good woman, understanding his signs that he wished to have union with her, said : "I understand your signs, and therefore will not open the door; why are you incessantly coming and

¹²⁷ He filled his waterpot at (had union with) a kachcha talau with pakka steps;

On entering, the fakir (*membrum virile*) met with no opposition, and robbed the young thing of its youth.

By a kachcha talau with pakka steps is meant a young virgin well up in the arts of love; the last sentence means, he deflowered her.

¹²⁸ O friend! let go, let go my clothes;

I have never seen thy house;

I do not know or recognize thee; why are you teasing me?

O friend! let go, let go my clothes.

¹²⁹ On the flowing Ravi there was a pair of doves;

One dove flew away, and they were separated.

¹³⁰ I understand your signs, and therefore will not undo the bolt;

Why are you continually coming and going? have you not as much fear as a grain of mustard;

If I should tell my husband, you would soon forget all your clever dodges;

I understand your signs, and therefore will not undo the bolt.

wandering about here ; what, have you no fear of anyone? Look, to yourself if I were to tell my husband of your goings on, then he would beat you severely, and you would forget all your clever ways."

Another song, which women sing, is as follows :

Pippal dia patta be kehi kharkhar lai
 Mera kaunt pardesin be kuchh khabar na ai
 Main pai udikan be un khabar na ghalli
 Main bahut samajhaia be par wah na challi
 Tua ghar awin kaunta be main khari udikan
 Merian dusmanan nai main nun laian likan
 Be main balbal jandi tere laman sadakke
 Ghar a jah sajjana tere raste takke
 Be main chhej bichhaman kadi awe jani
 Be main mar guai tere nainan di kani
 Be main dukhkhin gheri main nun sudh na kai
 Pippa dia patta be kehi kharkhar lai¹⁸¹

The meaning of this is plain, but, in order that its sense may be somewhat understood, I will write it. A woman was seated in the absence of her husband, and the leaves of a peepul tree were rustled by the wind ; on this she began to say to the leaves ; "My heart is already in a state of inflammation like a boil, from separation from my husband, therefore why, O leaves of the peepul, do you rustle and harass my heart more?" Again, she says "As my husband is in a strange land, and no news has come of him, I am always looking out for him, but I can obtain no news of him ;" then she continues, "At the time of his going away, I expostulated with him much, but he would not listen to me. I am always saying 'Come home,' and he, your friend, who will not let you come home, has become my enemy, and causes me distress ; I am watching for your return, and am crying and longing to give you a kiss, do you quickly come home ; I am pierced with

¹⁸¹ O peepul leaves ; what a noise you are making ;
 My husband has gone abroad, and I have obtained no news of him ;
 I am looking out continually for him, but he has sent me no news of himself ;

I tried to dissuade him (from going), but he would not listen to me ;
 O husband ! return home, for I am continually looking out for thee ;
 My enemies are troubling me much ;
 Oh ! I sacrifice myself, to thee, and long to give thee a kiss ;
 Come home, beloved ! I am watching for thee ;
 I will spread the bed ; come soon, O beloved !
 The glance of thine eyes has entirely overcome and dazzled me ;
 Affliction has surrounded me, I have no sense left in me ;
 O peepul leaves ! what a noise you are making.

the glance of your eyes, therefore, spreading my bed, and seated thereon, I say to you, 'O beloved! come quickly';" and then she says, "O leaves of the peepul! I already am overcome with grief, why therefore do you increase it with your rustling?"

That song, which the women sing in the rains during the month Saun, is as follows :

Chari ghata ghanghor saman aia
 Paun sarake ghata barase chamak bijli ai
 Kaunt bina dar paman sajani nain nind na pai
 Saman aia
 Pinghan khan hulare mere barasan nain phuare,
 Pia bina sabh sukh dukhiare ro ro sama bitaia
 Saman aia.
 Hornan sakhian dhari gudai mauli mainhdi bindi lai
 Mai nun pharia birahun kasai prem baddal char paia
 Saman aia.¹³²

The meaning is this ; that a woman, in the absence of her husband, looking at the clouds, began to say "Alas, O my lord ! although the month Saun also has come, in which, by reason of the rain, all are made happy, still my husband has not yet come home, so that, seeing his face, the rainy season might be pleasing to me. Behold ! clouds are overhead, the wind is blowing, and the lighting flashing, then how can I be happy without my husband? and, therefore, I do not get a wink of sleep ; the swings are swinging, and my eyes, by reason of my tears, are raining like fountains, and all my happiness appears as grief ; all my other companions have done up their dhari, (the back hair of the head), and have fastened it

132 The clouds have gathered with great force ; Saman has come ;
 The wind is blowing, the clouds are pouring, and the lightning shines ;
 Without my husband I am sad, O my companions, and my eyes obtain
 no sleep ;
 Saman has come ;
 The swings are swinging, my eyes are jetting out torrents like
 fountains ;
 Without my husband, all joys are to me sorrows ; I pass my time
 in weeping ;
 Saman has come ;
 All my companions have plaited their hair, and have tied it with the
 mauli, and have dyed their hands with henna, and made the
 mark of adornment on their foreheads ;
 Separation has seized me, like a butcher ; my love has become a
 cloud (hiding all joy from me) ;
 Saman has come.

N.B.—Saman is the month Sawan, or the rainy month of July-August. A mauli is a variegated ribbon with which women tie their hair.

with the mauli, and dyed their hands with henna, and made the bindi mark on their foreheads, and have adorned themselves, but as for unfortunate me, the butcher, called absence, is slaying me, and the clouds of my love are continually drizzling their tears of grief; alas! alas! how can I live in this grief.

Those songs, which women sing at marriages, are of various kinds, but amongst them are three songs, which are called sitthni, ghorī, and laman, those I will write about here. The first, called sitthni, is sung by way of jesting before the wedding guests and other people, and is of the following kind:

Kurme joro jarani jarani asin nahin pukarni pukarni
Joro kahindī kurme tain main kita hai jatt nun sain
Tun na sade behre ain kehi pai bagar ni bigar ni
Kurme joro jarani jarani.¹³³

The meaning is this, that the women say to the betrothed man's father, "The wife is an adulteress, but we should not tell it; she is thus saying to herself, 'I have taken a Jatt for my husband; if you now incessantly come to my house, listen, you will be only as a bigar.'"

Those sitthnis, which are sung by common people, are as follows:

Phulane joro chhinar sa nun chhale kara diḥ,
Ki damri de char sa nun chhalen kara diḥ,
Chhale kara diḥ chhapan kara diḥ nal kara diḥ
Har sa nun chhale kara diḥ¹³⁴

In short, this is only sung in joke among the common people, but there is no special meaning in it.

Ghoris are as under, thus:

Barasan lagara rup abeha
Kihda tun bhai malla kihda juai kis gori da tun
kanta be,

¹³³ "O father! the wife-elect is an adulteress, but we will not publish it;

She is thus saying to you, 'I have taken a Jatt for my husband; Do you not come to my house; you will only be a bigar;' "Such a woman is a whore, make us a ring; Four can be got for a damri; make us a ring; Make us a ring, make us a ring, make us a necklace with it, make us a ring."

¹³⁴ These verses may be translated as follows:—

"Such a woman is a whore, make us a ring;
Four can be got for a damri; make us a ring;
Make us a ring, make us a ring, make us a necklace with it, make us a ring."

Nhai dho-i-ke ghorī chariā kadi na dithara dārsan
ajeha¹³⁵

The meaning is this, that when at the time of marriage, the boy, having been washed and bathed, is mounted on a horse, then the women sing, "Your face has assumed such a wonderful form, that we cannot sufficiently praise it. O my lord! whose brother art thou? and whose son-in-law art thou? and tell us this also, of what beautiful woman art thou the husband? for that beauty, which is on thy face now that thou hast washed and bathed, is such that we have never seen the like thereto; in short, the being seated on horseback becomes thee exceedingly."

Lamans are sung according to this manner, viz. :

Phailari laun siri ram manaiye
Jis de mannne sabh dukhkh jan ate phal paiye.
Dujri laun hari biahān aia
Tan man dhan sukh chau surup suaia.¹³⁶

In this way, seven Lamans are sung, for the Hindus make the bride and bridegroom go, either four or seven times, round a fire, and those songs, which are sung at those times, are called Lamans.

In this country, many people sing couplets, which they call dōhras, e.g.—

Ao mere sajjano baitho man chit lai
Sanjh pai ghar jamna apo apne dai.¹³⁷

The meaning is this, that some good person is saying "O my companions! giving your hearts, do you come and sit by me and listen to me; for, when it becomes evening time, (that is, at the time of death), we must all go to our home (that is the other world) our own ways."

Again, many people in this country sing jhanjhotis. Jhanjhoti is the name of a kind of song, which they sing in

¹³⁵ "Thy beauty appears like the rain;

O Sir! whose brother art thou? whose son-in-law art thou? and of what beautiful woman art thou the husband?
Washed and bathed, mounted on horseback (as thou art), I have never seen any one as handsome as thee."

¹³⁶ In the first circumambulation say, "Do worship to Sri Ram; For, from worshipping him, all sorrow departs, and joy is obtained;" In the second circumambulation say "Hari has come to be married; Our body and soul, wealth, joy, pleasure and beauty, all are increased (thereby)."

¹³⁷ "Come, O friends! and sit by me, and give heed to me; At evening time, all go home of themselves."

the hills; although, originally, it was only sung in the hills adjoining the Panjab, but now, on account of their liking its strain and melody, many Panjabis also have begun to sing it, e.g.

Kaulan de chitthu main kin dei jah be mahanua

Kaulan de chhitthu main kin dei jah be

Tikkalu binddalu main tusan kin deni han hor gala di
hassi

Chitthu de pajju main kin mili jah be sajjana tusadi
surat asan man bassi.

(Refrain) Kaulan de chitthu main kin, &c.

Tusan jo asadre dilan jo tarsande ho surat da man
ghanera

Mate chhaila mijo chhatia jo lai lai jia taras-
sada mera.

(Refrain) Kaulan de chitthu, &c.¹³⁸

The meaning is this; that a woman is saying to a man "Do you give me a basket of lotus-flower fruit, and I will give you, in exchange for them, the tikka on my forehead, which is made of gold, and my forehead-ornament, and my silver throat-ornament.

The purport is this, that as she was fascinated with his form, she wanted him to come to her, under pretence of bringing the basket, and says, "O youth (i.e. man) and friend; your form has taken up its abode in my heart, and now, whilst I am longing for you in my mind, you are proud of your form; therefore, O beautiful lord, i.e., very handsome one! embrace me, for my heart greatly desires you."

Another jhanjhoti people sing as follows:

Hira Singha Sardara be ratin dere na aia,

Dere na aia kuthun man parchaia laria kin kihan
bhulaia.

(Refrain) Hira Singha Sardara be, &c.

138 "Give me a basket of kauls O man! Give me a basket of kauls; Then I will give you my tikkalu and bindlu and my hassi (to wear) round your neck.

Under pretence of (bringing) that basket, come and be one with me. O friend! for your beauty has taken up its abode in my heart;

Give me a basket of kauls;

Although you have no desire for me, O you proud of your form! Still, O very handsome one! come and embrace me, for my soul longs for you.

Give me a basket of kauls."

Asan kin tusadi surat na wissare dine ratin base
man main,

Tusan jo asadra milna na bhawe marasan main teri
lagan main.

(Refrain) Hira Singha Sardara be, &c.¹³⁹

The meaning is plain, that the bride, i.e., wife of a chief named Hira Singh, is reproaching him, saying, "Why did you not come home at night?"

The meaning is plain, that the bride, i.e., wife of a chief, country sing are such, that one cannot see any meaning and metre in most of them; and although the metre in a few can be distinguished, still the metre of one does not blend with that of another, nor can one see any meaning in them; but one of their intelligible songs is as follows:

O belia meria mahirama oe
Koi din man lai thandian chhaman jatta oe
Akhar challana thir nahin rahinahu.¹⁴⁰

The meaning of it is plain.

Another song, of which the meaning is not to be understood, and the metre does not blend, is as follows:

Nainan de wichch kajjala ni arie tere jatt bakaina lawe.
Tukke wanjhu binh gia mai nun tera makhkhan kaleja
najari awe.

Lutt lai oe mahirama mitara oe.¹⁴¹

What shall I write as to the meaning of this, for I believe the poet, who composed it, did not, himself even, understand it.

N.B.—The kaul is the fruit of the lotus flower; tikkalu and bindlu are head ornaments made of gold or silver.

A hassi is a silver necklace with a mirror in the centre of it, in front.

¹³⁹ "O Hira Singh, Sardar, why have you not returned home at night? Why have you not come home? Where are you engaged? Why have you forgotten your wife?"

O Hira Singh, Sardar, why have you not returned home at night?

I cannot forget your form, day and night it lives in my heart;

If you do not wish to live with me, still I greatly desire you.

O Hira Singh, Sardar, why have you not returned home at night?"

¹⁴⁰ "O my friend and acquaintance!

Come and enjoy yourself for some days,

O Jatt! At last you must die, you cannot always remain here."

¹⁴¹ "Put antimony on thine eyes, O sister! a Jatt has sown a bakain tree in my house;

Like an arrow, he has pierced me; to me my lover appears like butter;

My friend and acquaintance has robbed me (of my heart)."

Another rustic song is as follows :

Teri meri yari hai nattha sinhan
 Jagg wichch khuari hai nattha sinhan
 Challu mere ghar nun dekh mere dar nun
 Amin be tun sajjana.
 Tai nun lai ke bhajjana nattha sinhan.¹⁴²

The meaning of this is plain ; many songs like this are sung in this country.

CHAPTER XX

PROVERBS

Now it is necessary that I should explain a few of the proverbs, which are in vogue in various places in this country , as for instance,

- (1). "Come, bullock, and strike me."

The meaning of it is this ; that a certain fool said to a respectable man : "Do you retain me with you (as a servant)."
 He replied "Brother ! he will retain you, who would say thus, come bullock and strike me."

- (2). (With) a hundred wise men (there will be but)
 one opinion ;
 (With) fools, each will have his own."

The meaning of it is this, that although a hundred wise men might be collected, still their opinion would be one ; but if you were to collect a hundred fools, then the opinion of each of the hundred would be different, for fools, when they do any thing, undertake it without thought or reflection.

- (3). "Every one's business becomes himself, and, if another do it, it will be spoiled (lit. it will be struck with the washerman's stick)."

A thief entered the house of a washerman, on which one of his asses brayed ; as the washerman did not understand the cause of his braying, becoming angry, he struck it a blow with a stick. In the same way, if a fool forsakes his own business, and begins to do that of another, no profit will accrue to him from it, but he will obtain loss ; so, as it was

¹⁴² "O Nattha Singh ! there is a friendship between me and thee ;

It is well known in the world, O Nattha Singh ;

Come to my house, and look in at my door,

O friend, do you come ;

(If not) I will catch you and run away with you, O Nattha Singh !"

the business of the dog to make a noise on the coming of the thief, and the ass undertook his business for him, he got no profit.

(4). "A pair of combs on the head of a bald woman."

Just as when a bald girl wears combs, it does not appear well, so also, when a poor man assumes the status of a rich man, he becomes the place (object) of ridicule.

(5). "A bald man standing on his head among thorns."

That is, as when a bald man plays at turning head over heels among thorns, he thereby suffers pain, so also, if a poor man undertakes any business beyond his means, he suffers pain.

(6). "An inexperienced calf, the guide of a herd of calves."

If an inexperienced calf should set out as the guide of a herd of calves, then, as he himself does not know the right road, he will not be able to show the herd of calves the right road. In the same way, there will be no advantage to others, from following those who are themselves ignorant.

(7). "A bad dog gets its master abused."

If any one keeps a bad dog, then that bad dog, by interfering with other people, gets its master abused; so also, if a man keeps an useless person with him, he is himself looked on by men, as an useless man.

(8). "He has no house or home, but is the chief of a mahalla."

A certain Muhammadan had no home, but, one day, having gone to another town, he began to extol himself, saying "I am the master of a mahalla in such and such a place." Afterwards some people came, and enquired from the people of that place; "Where is the house of such an one?" On this, the people of that place taking his name (in derision), ridiculed him much. In the same way, if any one is not fit for any business, and, himself extols his own greatness, then, at last, he becomes a laughing stock.

(9). "If a blind man go for your betrothal, will he look out for himself or his brother?"

If you send a blind man for the betrothal of a brother, then he first looks out for a wife for himself, and does not think about the brother. In the same way, if one spends a poor person on any business, then he will only spoil your business, and accomplish his own; hence has arisen the above

proverb "If you send a blind man for your betrothal, will he look out for himself or his brother?"

- (10). "To beg from the poor is the business of the accursed."

A certain man himself got his living by begging, and another man went to him begging and asked alms. The beggar, whose house he came to, cursing him, said, "Your state is like that which a certain wise man has described: 'To beg from beggars is the business of the accursed'" So also, if any one shall go to a person without means, and ask him for anything, he will get nothing from him but abuse.

- (11) "She called out without being asked, 'I am the (father's sister) aunt of the bridegroom.'"

A certain woman went to a house, where a wedding was taking place, and began to say, "Ask some counsel from me also, for I am the aunt of the bridegroom." The people seized her, and turned her out of the house, and said, "This is she, about whom that proverb has been used 'She called out, without being asked, I am the aunt of the bridegroom'" In this same way, if any one interferes in any way, or gives advice in the affairs of other people, without being asked, he, at last, is put to shame.

- (12). "From sleeping on a dung-heap, he dreamt of a glass palace."

A certain man went to sleep on a dung-heap; when he awoke, he began to say "Last night I rested in a glass palace." The hearers turned him into ridicule, saying: "Yes, it is true, brother." In the same way when they, who are base by birth, undertake lofty deeds, people turn them into ridicule and say, "From sleeping on a dung-heap, he dreamt of a glass palace."

- (13). "From being a seller of coal, one's face becomes black."

If any one deal in coal, at last his face becomes black, so also, if any respectable man undertake any base deed, he will obtain no advantage in the world, but only blackening of the face (shame), and the above proverb will be applied to him.

- (14). "The cat, having eaten nine hundred mice, has gone on pilgrimage."

A certain cat, which had eaten mice all its life long, determined to give up its evil ways, and, accordingly began to admonish other cats. Hence people say "The cat, having eaten nine hundred mice, has gone on pilgrimage." In like

manner, if any one be a thief or adulterer, and admonish others, people will not listen to him, and if he be a bad man and should even do a good act, for the sake of getting a name, still people will say of him, "The cat, having eaten nine hundred mice, has gone on pilgrimage."

- (15). "The old woman was singing with great difficulty and people came to look on the spectacle."

A certain old woman, for the sake of amusing her child was, with great trouble and difficulty, trying to sing some thing; the people (about), on hearing it, came to look on at the spectacle. She said, "I am, with great difficulty, amusing my child; have you come to see the spectacle?" In the same way, those people, who indulge their own fancies, and trouble their neighbours, the above proverb, "The old woman was singing with great difficulty, and people came to look on at the spectacle" is applied to them.

- (16). "The poor rich man revolves in his mind many trips (which he will undertake for the purpose of traffic.)"

As an indigent person or a poor rich man, ponders over in his mind the trips he will undertake for gain, so also, if a poor man does nothing, but builds great castles in his heart, the above proverb "The poor rich man revolves in his mind many trips" is applied to him.

- (17). "The washerman's dog gets food neither at home, nor at the washing place."

When a washerman's dog goes from home to the washing place, the washerman, as he eats his food, thinks to himself "It has been fed at home; I will not give it anything to eat;" again, when it returns home, the washerman's wife says to herself "It must have been fed at the washing place;" in this way, it (the dog) remains hungry at both places; so also, if any one does not keep firm to one thing, and one place, he will remain disappointed everywhere, like the washerman's dog.

- (18). "The country ass speaks Kuresani."

A certain man, after having stayed a short while in a foreign land, on coming home, when he talked about anything in his native country, always used the language of that other country; the people therefore became very angry with him, and invented the above proverb about him. In the same way, those people, who, to show off their learning, talk to the people of their own country in the language of another country, are like the above (donkey).

- (19). "Let the gold, which, eats away one's ear, be put into the fire."

A certain poor man found a gold earring, but when he put it in his ear, owing to its weight, it began to rend his ear ; when he had become much distressed, then a certain wise man said to him "You will suffer pain, until you take it out of your ear." He replied "Why should I take such a valuable thing out of my ear ?" Then the wise man addressed the above proverb to him, and took the earring from him. So likewise, those fools, who for a little pleasure, undergo much hardship, and will not free themselves therefrom, the above proverb is applied to them "Let the gold, which eats away one's ears, be put into the fire."

- (20). "A brocaded canopy on the tomb of a prostitute."

A certain wise man, on seeing a brocaded canopy on the tomb of a prostitute, said to himself "This is a take in ;" so, all people, who are inwardly bad, but outwardly try to appear respectable, wise people, on seeing them, say "A brocaded canopy on the tomb of a prostitute."

- (21). 'A Domni, on forgetting the tune, looked up above for it."

When a Domni begins to sing and forgets the tune, she begins looking up above for it, but nevertheless, it does not come to her. In like manner, those, who set above their affairs without due reflection, afterwards become perplexed and greatly ashamed ; that is to say, those people, who understand a thing thoroughly, but do not do it at the right time, miss their opportunity and are put to great shame.

- (22). "You have not a house, and yet have brought five holy men with you (as guests)."

A houseless man was taking five holy men with him to his own house, to entertain them ; the people, on seeing what he was doing, began to laugh at him in their hearts ; so likewise, if a poor man try to assume the condition of the great, he will be put to great shame.

- (23). "A grass hut with an ivory water-spout."

If one should put an ivory water-spout on a grass hut, then every one would laugh at him ; so also, if any worthless person be dying of hunger, but, nevertheless, has valuable jewels made and wear them, people will apply this proverb to him "A grass hut with an ivory water-spout."

- (24). "When the headman destroys the village, who will populate it ?"

If the headman himself begins to destroy a village, then no one will live in it. Likewise, when good people, who give advice, do base deeds themselves, then who will be able to act properly ?

(25). "She was to blame herself, but put the fault on the courtyard (people)."

A certain woman was very quarrelsome and sharp-tempered, and, when she did anything wrong, used to throw the blame on the people of the courtyard, and make herself out in the right. So also, those people who throw the blame on others, and make themselves out in the right, to them is applied this proverb, "She was to blame herself, but put the fault on the courtyard (people)."

(26). "The decision of the panch (or arbitrators) is accepted, but let this drain remain here."

The panchait (or committee of arbitrators) of a village said to a certain man, "You must not have this water-spout here, for it causes much damage to other people." To be brief, he agreed to what they said, and added : "True, Maharaj (sirs);" but, in the end did exactly what they had forbidden. So likewise, those fools, who obtain instruction, but after hearing advice from the wise, cannot bring their hearts to follow it, to them will be applied the above proverb "The decision of the panch is accepted, but let this drain remain here."

CHAPTER XXI

THE JANAM SAKHIS, OR TWENTY DISCOURSES, REGARDING THE LIFE OF NANAK

DISCOURSE WITH GUPAL, THE TEACHER

When the holy Nanak reached the age of seven, then Kalu took Nanak to the teacher, and went and said to him, "O teacher ! as (the astronomers) look (on this) as an auspicious moment, I am leaving Nanak with you ; do you instruct Nanak." Then Gupal, the teacher, said : "Very well, sir ! I will instruct him. Now is a favourable time for engaging therein." Afterwards, having had the tikka,¹⁴³ rice, betel-nut and usual fees, brought from his house, he presented them to the teacher. After this, the teacher wrote a copy on a wooden slate,¹⁴⁴ and said, "Nanak, read it." He read for one day, and, after that, retired into silence. Then the teacher said "Nanak why will you not read?" Then Baba Nanak replied, "O teacher ! do you know anything at all yourself !" Then the teacher replied, "O Nanak ! I know every thing : the alphabet, spelling, mensuration, and accounts, all these I have learnt, and I know all the business of a patwari." Then the Sri Guru Baba Nanak gave vent to this verse and sang it in the Siri Rag, in the Sariat measure.

"Having burnt the love (of the world), rub it and make it ink ; make understanding the best paper.

Make love, the pen ; make the mind, the writer ; having asked the Guru, write the decision.

Write the name, write (its) praise, write that which has no end nor limit.

Pause

O father ! know to write this account !

Where account will be asked, there will be made the true sign (or signature)."¹⁴⁵ (Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, page 24).

The meaning is, that Sri Baba Nanak said, "Listen. O teacher ! the praise of that Person, Who is boundless, is boundless ; well if you understand this, do you read it, and

¹⁴³ The tikka is the mark on the forehead.

¹⁴⁴ In the Panjab, children use small wooden slates, painted black or red, on which they write with a mixture made from white chalk, and the writing is easily obliterated.

¹⁴⁵ i.e., At the day of accounts, all other accounts or writings, will be of no avail.

teach me also to read. Listen sir ! what I said above is true learning, and if you do not understand it, then listen, and learn and practise it from me ; cut the noose of your birth, and learn His praise, Who is boundless ;¹⁴⁶ but if you understand it, then write it, read it, and teach it ; so that, from reading it you may escape from the (hereafter) account, and then, at that place where account will be taken from you, you will have in your hand, a token of having remembered the True God, and, after that, no further account will be asked from you. The remembering of God is a token of the true threshold¹⁴⁷ ; so if you wish to escape at the true threshold, then read this writing. Listen saint ! in whose fate, this decree (of obtaining God) is written, he will obtain profit from (remembering) His name. Listen, teacher ! God cannot be obtained by words only, for that which is said is nothing but words, and words are often false, and words are of no avail ; and he only will obtain this (profit), who loves God, and he only will get (profit from remembering) God's name." Then again the Sri Guru said, "Listen, O Pandat (wise man) ! to read any thing else, but the name of God, is all wind." Then the Pandat Gupal said, "O Nanak ! point me out something more to read, from the reading of which I may obtain freedom, Sir." Then the Sri Guru said, "Listen, O saint ! the reading, which is of the world, may be compared, as follows ; the ink is made from the wick of lamps ; its paper, of hemp ; and its pen, of the reed ; the mind is the writer, and, if one write with these, what will he write ? The troubles of the love of the world will be written, from writing which arise all kinds of troubles ; whereas the true reading is after this fashion ; having burnt the false love for the world, from it one must make one's ink ; of devotion, must be prepared one's paper, and whatever love there is in one's heart, of that one must make one's pen ; and one's heart must be the writer, and what sort of writing will one then write ? One will write the name of the Divine God, and one will write (His) beautiful praise, from which writing all disorders will be removed, and one's body will be made happy ;¹⁴⁸ but His end can nowhere be discovered, O Pandat ! If you can understand this writing of truth, then do you yourself read it and teach me also to read it ; and if you cannot understand the writing of Truth,

¹⁴⁶ i.e., Learn this, and then you will obtain salvation, and you will not require to be born or die again.

¹⁴⁷ i.e., Heaven.

¹⁴⁸ i.e., He will obtain rest.

then do not read yourself, nor teach me to read. Listen, O Pandat ! when your life leaves you, then this reading of Truth will be to you a token of Truth, and death will never come near you." Then the Pandat asked, "O Nanak ! (tell me), those who now keep the name of God (in remembrance), what advantage will they obtain ?" Then Sri Baba Nanak gave utterance to the second verse.

"Where greatness will be obtained, always pleasure and delight ;

(There) from their face, marks will issue, in whose heart the true name is.

If it does accrue by destiny, then it is obtained, not by prattle of words." (Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, page 24.)

"The meaning of it is this, "Listen, O Pandat ! where your soul goes, there you will be blessed, from having remembered God ; there, there will always be pleasures, and you will be incessantly blessed with abodes of happiness and joy ; and those only, who have remembered Him with all their hearts, will obtain great honour at the True Threshold. He, for whom it is designed, will obtain this. God is not to be won by words." The Pandat, on hearing this, became greatly frightened. Again, after this, the Pandat enquired "O Nanak ! those who take the name of God, no one even knows them, and they do not get a sufficiency of bread either ; whilst those, who are kings, live in great ease and are not in the least afraid of the Great God ; then tell (me), what will be their state at the True Threshold ?" Then the Guru Baba gave utterance to the third verse—

"Some come, some rise and go,¹⁴⁹ to whom the name of chieftain is given,

Some are born as beggars, some have great courts.

Having gone onwards (to the other world), it will be known that without the name, there is change of form."¹⁵⁰ (Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, page 24.)

The meaning of it is, "Listen, Pandat ! some are comers, some are goers ;¹⁵¹ some are called commanders of armies, and some poor people get their food by begging ; some are kings, and hold great courts, but those, who do not remember

¹⁴⁹ i.e., Some are born, and some die.

¹⁵⁰ Trumpp says, change of form here implies transmigration, and he who is not imbued in the name, will be subject to a course of transmigration.

I believe, however, that the following is a simpler and better translation of the last sentence ; "that, except the Name of God, all else is useless."

¹⁵¹ i.e., Some are born, some die.

God, they will obtain the same punishment, as the washerman gives clothes, or the mill gives the grain, or the oil-presser gives the oilseed; and those who remember God here, they will obtain greatness at the Threshold of God." On hearing this, the Pandat was frightened and alarmed; then again the Pandat began to say "This is some very holy person." Again, the Pandat asked, "O Nanak! why do you utter words of this kind? you are at present a child; try a little the joy of having a father and mother, a wife and family; behold (your age is) yet (on the increase),¹⁵² where then will be the end of your words?" Then the Sri Guru Baba read the fourth verse—

"Out of thy fear, dread is very great; being consumed, the body becomes tattered.

Those who had the name of Sultan and Khan have been seen becoming ashes.¹⁵³

Nanak! when one has risen and departed, all false love breaks down." (Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, page, 24.)

The meaning of it is this, the Sri Guru said, "Listen, O Pandat! I have such fear of that Lord, that, from fear of Him, my body is greatly filled with fear; those, who were called kings and khans here, they have died and been turned into dust; those, from dread of whom the earth remained frightened, and those, whose commands used to be obeyed, they also have departed from here. Listen, O Pandat! for what, Sir, should I show such false love? I also must put off these clothes;¹⁵⁴ (then) these miserable clothes (of existence) shall all be turned into a heap of dust. I will do service to Him, who can save my soul; why should I show any affection for this fickle world?" Then the Pandat made an obeisance, and departed, saying, "This is some very holy man."

¹⁵² i.e., You are yet but a growing lad.

¹⁵³ "Dust" would be better than "ashes," for Muhammadans are not burnt; "dust," moreover, is the proper meaning of "Khehi."

¹⁵⁴ i.e., I too must die.

CHAPTER XXII

DISCOURSE REGARDING THE BRAHMINICAL THREAD

When the Sri Baba reached nine years of age, then they wished to invest him with the Brahminical thread, and the Brahmans set to work to teach him chaunka,¹⁵⁵ sandhia, gaitri¹⁵⁶ and tarpan,¹⁵⁷ and, having put on him a sikha,¹⁵⁸ sut,¹⁵⁹ waist-cloth, Brahminical thread, rosary, and tilak,¹⁶⁰ they began to instruct him regarding (the use of) these six articles. After this again, they bathed the Sri Baba, and, then, they seated him in the place of devotion. When the Brahmans began to put on him the Brahminical thread, then the Sri Guru Baba said "Listen, O family priest ! from investing me with this Brahminical thread, which you are putting on, what religion is taught me ?" Then the family priest said : "Listen, O Nanak ! the purport of being invested with this Brahminical thread is this, that it is laid down in our religion (to be worn) by Khattris and Brahmans ; and until one obtains the Brahminical thread, one is impure ; and after that,¹⁶¹ one cannot approach any thing that is impure ; and one, who has obtained the Brahminical thread, is no longer impure ; and without washing, it is not good to go into one's cooking place ; and when one obtains this Brahminical thread, then he becomes of the religion of Khattris and Brahmans, and can perform gaitri, sandhia, tarpan and (use) the six articles above mentioned, and becomes respectable ; Khattris and Brahmans obtain the Brahminical thread for this reason ; and without the Brahminical thread, the religion of Khattris and Brahmans would not remain." On this, Baba Nanak said, "Listen, O Pandat ! does the religion of Khattris and Brahmans consist only in wearing the Brahminical thread ? or does it rest on good works ? Listen, Pandat ! if a man gets the Brahminical thread, and does evil deeds, will he remain a Khattri or Brahman or will he become an outcaste ?" When the Sri Guru Baba had said this, then all the people who were seated there, were astonished and began to say, "O holy God ! he is, at

¹⁵⁵ Chaunka is the making ready a square for worship, and plastering it.

¹⁵⁶ Sandhya and gayatri are forms of Brahminical prayers.

¹⁵⁷ Tarpan is the making an oblation with water, which is taken up in both hands, and poured forth, to the memory of one's ancestors.

¹⁵⁸ Sikha is the tuft of hair, worn on the top of the head.

¹⁵⁹ Sut is a handkerchief, which is thrown over the left shoulder, during the performances of worship.

¹⁶⁰ Tilak is the mark worn by Brahmans on the forehead.

¹⁶¹ i.e., Before putting it on, eating unclean things is not regarded as a sin, but, afterwards, it is.

present, but a lad, but what good words does he give utterance to !” Then the Brahman asked, “O Holy Sir ! what Brahminical thread is that, in the obtaining of which religion consists ?” Then the Sri Baba gave utterance to this stanza :—

“Mercy is the cotton ; patience, the thread ; chastity is the knot, and truth is the twisting ;

And such is the Brahminical thread of the soul ; if you have such a thread, put it on me ;

It will neither break nor soil, nor burn, nor be lost.

‘Those persons’ (says) Nanak, ‘are blessed, who wear a thread like this.’”¹⁶²

The meaning is this, that the Sri Guru Baba Nanak said, “Listen, O Holy Pandat ! the religion of one, who wears such a Brahminical thread, will continue, i.e., he who shall make mercy the cotton, patience, the thread, truth, the twist, and chastity, its knot ; and he, who inwardly has a Brahminical thread of mercy and patience, he will become cleansed and purified. O Pandat ! a Brahminical thread of this cotton (you offer me) is of no use to me, then why have you wasted the cotton by twisting it (into the thread) ? A thread of this cotton, if it falls into the fire, is burnt, and, if a little mud attaches to it, it becomes soiled, and becomes old, and then breaks ; but that Brahminical thread, which consists of mercy, patience, chastity and truth, it never becomes soiled or old, nor does it break nor burn. Listen, O Pandat ! happy are those persons, who have obtained a Brahminical thread of mercy, patience, chastity and truth. Listen, Pandat ! all other Brahminical threads are false ; if you have this Brahminical thread, then put it on me, otherwise do not put it on me ; the Brahminical thread, made of cotton, is of no value.” Then the Brahman said, “O Nanak ! I did not to-day institute the putting on of this Brahminical thread ; what ! do you think, I have done so ? If the wearing of this Brahminical thread has been settled by me, then forbid me ; but it was established long ago.” Then the Sri Baba said, “O Pandat ! this is a raw Brahminical thread ; it will remain here, and will not go afterwards with you.” Then the teacher said, “O Nanak ! this

¹⁶² Trumps gives the following translation of these lines in his *Adi Granth*, Page 646.

“(If) kindness (be) the cotton, contentment, the thread, continence the knot, truth the twist.

(If) this be the sacred cord of the creatures, then, O Pandat put it on. This does not break, nor does filth stick to it nor is it burnt nor does it go off.

Blessed is that man, O Nanak, who departs having put on (this) on his neck.”

Brahminical thread, of which I am speaking, all people, from the beginning of the world to the present time, have worn it ; then O Nanak ! why do you forbid it (being put on you ?)" Then the Sri Baba gave utterance to another stanza :

"For four damris (=one paisa) it (the janeu) was bought and sitting in a chaunka it was put on.

Instruction was delivered into the ears (of the receiver of the cord), a Brahman had become the Guru.

This one died and that one fell off ; he went off without a cord.

Lakhs of thefts, lakhs of fornications, lakhs of falsehoods, lakhs of abuses.

Lakhs of deceits (and) frauds are day and night (current) with the creatures." (Trumpp's Translation, *Adi Granth*, page 646).

The meaning is, Guru Nanak said, "Listen, O holy Pandat ! the matter is thus ; men have settled all this matter ; the Brahminical thread, made of cotton, can be bought ; men themselves bring the cowl, and make the chaunka ; then, afterwards, that man himself goes and sits in that chaunka, and a Brahman comes and sits down and admonishes him, and puts the Brahminical thread round the neck of the disciple, and that Brahman is regarded as a Guru ; tell me, can such an one be my Guru, who, after having been given instruction, obtains the Brahminical thread ? Listen, teacher ! when that man dies, that Brahminical thread is left behind him, and his soul goes away without that thread ; all the things, which have been settled by the world, will all be left here ; their praise will continue in this world only, but, above in the Threshold of God, they have no praise ; and those things, which God has settled, they are not pleasing to the world, but if any one shall acquire the things of God, he will obtain praise at the Threshold of God. O saint ! our business is with God, and we have nothing to do with the world ; these worldly things, that you teach me, they are of no use to me." All those who heard these words, got up and said, "Bravo ! bravo ! O Divine God ! what mercy hast thou not shown to this lad." Then that Brahman said, "O Nanak ! Kalu has expended all this wealth for you to obtain this Brahminical thread, and many people have assembled to invest you with the Brahminical thread ; if you will not now put on the Brahminical thread, then all (this sum) that has been expended on this great feast, and all the people who have collected, will be for nothing ; but now, do you put on this thread, and after-

wards you may do as it pleases your heart." Then the Sri Baba read another stanza :

"The (sacred) thread is spun from cotton, the Brahman comes and twists it.

A goat is killed, cooked and eaten, every one says, put it on.

When it becomes old, it is thrown away, and another is put on again.

Nanak (says) the thread does not break, if there be strength in the thread."

(Trumpp's *Adi Granth*, page 646).

The meaning of it is, that the Sri Guru Baba said, "O saint ! the world says, if this thread is broken, one becomes impure ; O saint ! then give me that Brahminical thread to wear, which will never break ; having spun the cotton, they make a thread, and then they make a string, and if the string should break, it must not be worn any more ; what virtue is there in getting such a thread, which a Brahman can again make, and which one can obtain afresh ? If there is any strength in this thread, then why does it break ? That string, which has strength, that string the Great God has given me ; you may put on as many other strings as you like, (but they will profit nothing)." Then they forcibly put the Brahminical thread on the Sri Baba, and afterwards the Brahman said, "O Baba, this your Brahminical thread is a token for the world, but what you say is quite true. But, sir, that kind of thread, which is strong, and never gets dirty, and never breaks, and in the end goes to heaven, tell me about that thread." Then the Sri Guru Baba recited another stanza."

"He, who reverences God's name, his honour increases ; the praise of God is the true thread ;

It is found in the Threshold of God, that thread never breaks, and is always pure."¹⁶³

The meaning of it is, that, from the reverencing of the name of the Divine Being, the honour of man increases ; and the doing of service to God is the true thread ; and this is the true Brahminical thread, at the Threshold of God ; and the string of this pure Brahminical thread never breaks. Then the Pandat made an obeisance, and departed.

¹⁶³ Trumpp gives the following translation of these lines (*Adi Granth*, page 647) :—

By minding the name, honour springs up, praising (God) is the true thread ;

The thread, that is obtained within the threshold (of God), does not break ; (it is) pure.

CHAPTER XXIII

DISCOURSE WITH THE PHYSICIAN

Guru Nanak, having got into a state of religious enthusiasm, led down as one helpless; on this, the whole family of VEDIYAS, being distressed, began to lament and to say "This is a great matter of regret, that Nanak, the son of Kalu, should have become mad?" Then the Sri Baba remained quiet, and for three months, lay prostrate inside (the house), eating and drinking nothing. Then all the family of the VEDIYAS became very anxious, and they all began to say to Kalu "Why do you now remain seated, when your son is lying prostrate? call some physician to cure him; then perhaps God, by your spending a straw, may give much profit,¹⁶⁴ otherwise the world will say of you, that Kalu does not cure his son, (as he has greater) love for his money; listen Kalu! you will have plenty of money, when your son shall be cured." Then Kalu rose and got up, and called a physician. The physician came and stood, and began to seize the arm of the Baba; then the Baba withdrew his arm, and rose and sat up, and said, "O physician! what are you doing?" The physician replied; "I am seeing what inward disease you have." Then the Sri Baba recited the following verse in reply to the physician:—

"The physician was called to cure, he seized my arm and began to feel (for my pulse);

O simple physician! do you not know, that the pain is in my heart;

O physician! go to your home, and do not receive a curse from me;

I am in love with my husband (i.e. God); to whom will you give medicine!

O physician! you are a very wise physician, but you should find out the disease;

Find (it) out, and bring that medicine by which all diseases are cured;

If there is sickness, then there is plenty of physic, and many physicians will come and stand around;

The body weeps, and the soul cries out, 'Physician, give me not medicine,

Go, physician, to your own home, for few know (what is wrong with me);

'He who has created this disease, He,' (says) Nanak 'will cure me.' "

¹⁶⁴ This is a proverb, signifying that if one only spend a little on the doctor the will obtain much profit, from getting cured.

Then he recited another verse in the Mallar Rag :

"O simple physician, give me not physic ;
This heart is obtaining the punishment of its own
deeds ;

I am in pain, and my body tormented ;

This physic is of no use, O brother !

Pain is a poison ; the name of Hari is its antidote ;

Patience is the grinding stone ; the hand for grinding
it is alms ;

Continually take (the medicine of) His name, and then
your body will suffer no pain ;

In the end, the angel of death will destroy you ;

O thou rustic ! take such a medicine ;

From taking which all your diseases may depart.

Pause

Kingship, wealth and youth are all like a shadow,¹⁶⁵
The track of the car, as it moves on, is left, but does
not always remain ;

When one dies, neither a man's body remains, nor his
name, nor his caste ;

There (in the future world) it is all day, but, here, it is
all night ;

Regard worldly joys as fuel, and its desires as ghi and
oil (to burn thereon).

Burn lust and anger in the fire.

But oblations, sacrifices and religious books.

Which are pleasing to God, these only are acceptable
(to Him) ;

Make devotion your paper, and on it write your name
and signature ;

They, who have written thus, (on the paper).

They will appear wealthy, when they go to His portal ;

Nanak (says) ! 'Blessed is the mother of that one, who
is born and remembers his God.' "

When the physician had heard this stanza, then he with-
drew, and said "O brother ! he has no disease ; do not you
be at all anxious for him."

¹⁶⁵ i.e., They do not last, but come and go, like a shadow.

CHAPTER XXIV

DISCOURSE ABOUT THE STORE

There were given him a thousand rupees in cash ; then Bala Sandhu said, "O Baba Nanak ! you have now taken over the store, therefore now give me leave to go." Then Guru Nanak said, "O brother Bala ! you have formed an imperfect affection for me ; what ! will you leave me whilst I am still alive?" Then Bala said, "Thou art the son of a Khattri and doest thine own business ; why should I also not do mine ?" Then Guru Nanak said, "O brother Bala ! let things continue for some time as they are ; this business must be done by us, who else will do that which is our business ; do you behold the show (play) of the Creator, and see how the Creator acts ! stay then and live with me." Then I (Bala) said "Yes, sir ! your pleasure shall be accomplished, and what you shall say, that will I do." Then I also began to live with the Guru, and we began to carry on the business. When two years had passed in this way, carrying on the business, then Mahita Kalu came to get information about it, and met with Guru Nanak. Then Guru Nanak getting up fell at the feet of Kalu ; and Mahita Kalu kissed his forehead, and pressed him to his neck, and began to ask, "O son Nanak ! it is two years since I sent you here ; what have you made, and what you spent ?" Then Guru Nanak replied, "O father ! I have made a good deal ; and I have spent a good deal ; but I have not accumulated anything." Then Mahita Kalu began to quarrel with me (Bala), and to use hard words (to me). On this Guru Nanak made a sign to (me) Bala intimating, "Brother Bala, you must say nothing to Kalu ;" on this I remained silent. Then Kalu began to say, "I thought, that Nanak was now employed in the business, and that which he had (formerly) spent of mine, he would (now) give back to me ;" then Kalu began to talk in the same (angry) way, as he was wont to do.

Then he (Kalu) went to see Nanaki and Jairam, and, on meeting them, began to ask ; "What have you done ? have you ever looked after him at all ? you have neither looked after what he was doing, nor have you done anything about his betrothal ; why have you not done so ?" Then Bibi Nanaki said, "O father ! since he has been here, he has wasted nothing of yours ; are you not thankful that he is

employed, and engaged in his work ? Some day, he will make some profit ; and arrangements are being made also for his betrothal, and, in a day or two, they will be completed ; he causes no loss to us ; but, O father ! if it (the betrothal) is being arranged by you any where, then do you arrange it ; although it is a matter of anxiety to us, it will be doubly so to you."

(Reply of Kalu).—"Child, daughter Nanaki if it could be arranged by me, then why should I ask you (to arrange it) ? and, daughter, if you do arrange it, then you must arrange it in a proper family, and see that it is a good Khattri, but it must not be in an indifferent (family)."

(Reply of Nanaki).—"We do not wish to put you to any expense ; there is one, Mula Chona, who is the land steward of the village, Pakhoke Randhawian ; he will betroth his daughter without taking anything ;¹⁶⁶ I hope to make arrangements for his betrothal there ; and what is pleasing to the Lord, that will take place. O Mahita, do you remain easy in your mind, God will arrange everything well." Then Kalu said, "O son-in-law Jairam ! (in such matters) one's sons-in-law truly feel as much shame as one's sons. I was saying in my heart, that as I have seen the happiness of Bibi Nanaki, and my eyes were rejoiced thereat, so now I wished, whilst I lived, to see the joy and desire of Nanak fulfilled, and then my soul would be made happy." Then Jairam said, "O Mahita ! do you remain here and, I will call (your wife), the mother (of Nanak)." Then Kalu said, "O my son Jairam ! stopping here is irksome to me, and I cannot manage to stay here, as I have lots to do there (at home)." Then Jairam said, "O Mahita ! you are to me as Parmanand (my father), and you are my father." Kalu said, "Behold Jairam ! immediately Nanak is betrothed, you must instantly give me information, and you must keep my son Nanak in sight, and see that he does not waste any money or cash." Then Bibi Nanaki said, "O father ! are you not thankful that he is now happy ; you used (formerly) daily (to trouble us by saying) that to-day he had caused this loss, and he had wasted that. O father ! when he feeds the poor, then our hearts are troubled, lest the master's money should be diminished, for then we would be disgraced before the master. But father, whenever he renders the accounts to his master, then, there is always some profit over. This is some manifestation of the Creator." Then

¹⁶⁶ i.e., Without taking any money for her. Betrothals are of two kinds ; by payment of money, and without.

Jairam said, "O Mahita ! this is why we cannot say anything to him." Then again Kalu said, "O my son Jairam ! if, when you shall again take the account, any profit shall have accrued, you must take it yourself, and then you will do well ; for, in his sight, a lakh (of rupees) and a straw are of equal value ; and do you also send for Bala and admonish him ; let you and I both speak fully to him (on the subject)." Then Jairam, having sent a man, called Bala, and Bala came ; then Jairam said, "O Bhai Bala ! you are the special, ever present, companion of Nanak, and we look on you in the same light as we look on Nanak ; therefore do you keep a look-out on Nanak, and see that he does not waste the money." Then again Kalu added,¹⁶⁷ "O son Bala ! remember there will be shame (attached to you), on account of your living with him, (if anything should go wrong)." (Bala said) "Jairam's speech did not appear disagreeable to me, but the speech of Kalu hurt me." Then I said to Kalu. "O Mahita ! do you think any evil (of me, Bala) in your heart, and that because, I, Bala, live with Nanak, I also indulge in extravagance ; for, Mahita, in my sight, ghi is even a forbidden thing, and I look on any other covetous desire as wicked ; and in that I live with Nanak, I live with him for my own (future) advantage, for I look on Nanak as God. Listen, Mahita Kalu ! you have a longing for money, and I have only this desire, viz., whatever he does, let him do it, it will be well, and I will make no objection thereto. Do you take and collect whatever you can lay your hands on ; I cannot do such a thing as to say any thing to him ; but if you can do any thing, then come and do it." Then Jairam said, "O Mahita ji ! Bhai Bala speaks the truth. Nanak is not a man ; he appears to me to be something else ; but be happy, Mahita ji, and set off home, and the instant Nanak is betrothed, I will act at once ; then perhaps, he may form affection for his family, and he will then be admonished." Then Kalu went to his home. When one month had passed, then a certain good man came to Jairam, and told tales about Nanak, saying, "Listen, Jairam ! your brother-in-law is the steward of this shop, then why do you not admonish him ? do you not know of what description is the temper of the Pathans ?" Then Jairam, on hearing it, became distressed, and, in that state of distress, came home ; when he reached home, he took Nanaki aside, and began to say to her, "Listen, O handmaid of God ! to-day a certain person has come and said to me. 'Jairam, your brother-in-law,

¹⁶⁷ Lit. "Said in an off-hand manner."

who is the steward, is wasting the money; why do you not admonish him? Do you know the temper of the Pathans or not? Therefore, wife, what shall I do? Whatever you shall say, that I will do." Then Nanaki said, "Sir, whatever comes into your heart, that do; what shall I say? It behoves me to act according to your directions." Then Jairam said: "Wife, do you give me some counsel, and then I will act thereon." Nanaki said, "Sir, have you not yet any faith in him? You seem to think that I take the part of my brother, and that whatever wealth and treasure of the world is in his charge, Nanak is letting it slip through his fingers; but Sir, if you have any doubt in your mind, then do you thus act; do you now at once take the accounts from him, and if the accounts be correct, and if there be no loss or damage, then for the future, you must not be misled by the sayings or talk of any one." Then Jairam said, "Dear one! I will not take the accounts; as you have faith (in him), what occasion is there for me to do so?" Nanaki said! "Sir! now you cannot retract; I will call my brother, Nanak". Then Bibi Nanaki sent her maid, Tulsan, to call Nanak, with this message; ("Your sister says) 'O brother; do you have compassion and shew yourself to us?'" Then the girl Tulsan went and made her obeisance to him. Thereupon he said, "What is it, Tulsan? Why have you come to-day?" Tulsan said, "O my lord! your sister said, 'Do you go to my brother, and tell him to come and show himself to me;' this is why I have come." Then Guru Nanak said: "Depart, Tulsan, I am coming." Then Tulsan went home, and when she arrived, said, "O my mistress, he says 'I am coming.'" Afterwards, Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala! Why has my sister called me?" Then I said, "Sir! she must have called you, because she wants something." Then Nanak said, "Bhai Bala! my heart tells me, that some one has told tales there about me." Then I said, "Sir! what tales can any one have told there about you? What (evil) have you done?" Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala! bring a pot of patasas."¹⁶⁸ Then I brought the pot of patasas, and Guru Nanak emptied the contents into his lap,¹⁶⁹ and whatever patasas were in the pot, he carried them all away; there were about two and a half sirs of patasas in the pot; these he carried all away, and, taking them, Guru Nanak came to Bibi Nanaki. Immediately, (on his arrival), Bibi Nanaki arose, and got up and said, "Come, brother," and

¹⁶⁸ A kind of sweetmeat.

¹⁶⁹ i.e., Taking up the skirt of his coat.

then gave him a seat, and Nanak sat down on the seat. I, Bala, also came with him, and the Bibi also gave me a small chair. Then Guru Nanak asked, "Bibi ! why, have you called me ?" (She replied) "Brother ! many days have passed since we have seen your face, and we had a desire to see you, therefore I have called you, and I said to Tulsan, 'Go and call my brother.'" Then Guru Nanak said, "Bibi ! I have my suspicions, as to why you called me ; do you tell me what it is ?" Then the Bibi said, "O brother, you know everything ; there is no occasion to tell you." Then Guru Nanak said, "Bibi, I know in my heart, that some one has told tales about me here ; I, also, therefore, say, 'Take the accounts from me.'" Then Bibi Nanaki began to soothe him ; on which Guru Nanak began to say, "No, Bibi ! it has come to a matter of accounts ; here you must not allow your shame or regard for any one to interfere." Then Bibi Nanaki said : "Very well, brother."

In the year 1543 on the fifth of the bright half of the month Maughar, he gave the accounts, and settled up his books for three months ; one hundred and thirty-five rupees remained over, after paying all expenses.

Nanak said to his brother-in-law, Jairam : "Behold brother-in-law ! has your face now not been disgraced ? How is it now ? Now you must make this store over to some one else. God is my (Preserver)". Then Jairam fell at his feet, and Bibi Nanaki began to weep and to say. "Sir ! first kill me, and then go wherever you like." Then Guru Nanak said, "Now has my account been delivered in full ; but even if there had been any deficiency, what misfortune would it have been to you ?" Then Jairam said, "Brother Nanak ! I only partly understood you before, and I partly did not understand you ; but now confidence has come to me in every way ; do you forgive me this my fault ; forgetting myself, I listened to tales, and did not heed what my wife said." Then again the Bibi said, "Brother ! hereafter, whatever shall be short, I will give account of that, whatever it be." Then, I, Bala, said, "O Nanak ! you are evidently a true prophet, for how else could you know about things beforehand ? Well, Nanak ! your sister and your brother-in-law both entreat of you, so do you look to God (and forgive them) ; and O Guru, do you show love to me in this matter." Then, Guru Nanak said, "Very well, Bhai Bala ! as you have said so, I cannot turn away from it." Then, I, (Bala) made my obeisance. Then Bibi Nanaki

and Bhaya Jairam began to say to me, "Bhai Bala ! you have to-day given Nanak to us afresh." Then they counted over to Nanak one hundred and thirty-five rupees, the profit, and also gave over to him seventeen hundred rupees besides : and Nanak, taking them, went and sat in the store ; and all the people of the establishment came, and began to congratulate and praise Nanak, and Hindus and Musalmans both were pleased.

CHAPTER XXV

CONVERSATION REGARDING THE BETROTHAL OF NANAK

In the year 1544, on the 5th of the bright half of the month Moughar, Nanak was betrothed in the house of Mula Chona of Pakhoke Randhawa. Then Jairam and Bibi Nanaki sent the news and congratulations to Mahita Kalu and his (Nanak's) mother, and sent and called them, saying, "If you will come, then the expenses for the marriage preparations will be paid." Then Kalu, on hearing it, was greatly pleased, and the mother was also greatly pleased; and they filled the mouth of her who had taken the news with sugar with their own hands; and having filled it, began to say, "We sacrifice ourselves to your mouth,¹⁷⁰ as you have brought us this news of the welfare of Nanak." At night, all the hangers-on and relations of the Vedis came and sat down and began to sing, and to say, "In your family, one Nanak has been born with a good spirit, for he has been betrothed according to religious rites (and not for money), and he has dignified our family thereby." Then his (Nanak's) mother sent congratulations to her parents in the Manjha.¹⁷¹ Rama (of the) Jhangar (family) was that lady's father, and there were also the maternal grandfather and grandmother of Nanak, and the mother-in-law and father-in-law of Kalu; then the mother sent news to them also and said, "If you will come, then come to Sultanpur, and the money for the marriage preparations will be paid." Then the grandmother Bhirai came there, and the grandfather Rama and the maternal uncle, Kisna, also; for the three of them, on hearing of it, were greatly pleased. Then they came to Talwandi and met Kalu; then the people of Talwandi, assembling together, set forth; Kalu, Lala Vedi, Amman Bibi (Nanak's mother) and Rama and Kisna, Jhangars, and the grandmother Bhirai, these six people, got ready, and, with the two servants of Rama, there were twelve persons in all; now Rama, Jhangar, had much goods with him; when they were about to set forth, then they went to Rai Bular to wish him farewell; and Kalu, going before the Rai, stood before him; then the Rai said, "What is it, Kalu?" Then Kalu replied, "Your slave Nanak has been betrothed; the marriage party

¹⁷⁰ i.e., We feel ourselves deeply indebted to you.

¹⁷¹ The central part of the Bari Doab.

are going to Pakhoke Randhawa to pay the money for the marriage preparations; will you please give us your permission to go." Then the Rai said, "Kalu, remember what Nanak was before! take care (not to quarrel with him)." Then Kalu said, "O Rai! do not raise doubts in my heart." Then the Rai said, "No, Kalu, that is not it; I meant something else; he is nothing more than a holy man; (take care not to quarrel, for) perhaps he may say something unpleasing to you." Then Kalu said, "No Rai! he is the desire of my heart, (i.e., my son); and O Rai! God has made you the master here, therefore, have kindness on us and give us (your blessing and your permission to go)." Then the Rai said, "Go Kalu! may God fulfil your desire; this is also my hope; but Kalu, it behoves me also to kiss the forehead of Nanak, do you touch his feet with (your) hands for me, and make my apologies to Jairam; go, may God protect you." Then Kalu got into the cart, and, on the fifth day, arrived at Sultanpur. He arrived on Thursday, and entered the house of Parmanand, and began to utter his congratulations. Then Nanak received intimation that his father and mother had come; and that his paternal uncle, and paternal grandmother and grandfather, and maternal uncle had come, and also Mardana, the Dum. Then Nanak, immediately on hearing it, got up and came running, and forthwith fell at the feet of Kalu. Kalu kissed his forehead; then Nanak said, "O father! was the Rai well?" Then Kalu said, "Son, he remembered you most kindly; the Rai told me to kiss your forehead, but I had forgotten it." Then Guru Nanak fell at the feet of his mother, and then fell at the feet of his uncle Lalu. Lalu pressed him to his neck, and said, "Son! you have dignified our family. God knows what will happen hereafter; but in this world, you have dignified it." Then Nanak fell at the feet of his maternal grandfather Rama; then his maternal grandfather, Rama, pressed him to his neck, and would not leave off embracing him. Then Rama looked around to see if there were any beggars near;¹⁷² then his maternal grandmother Bhirai said, "Let him go from thy neck." Then Rama said to Bhirai, "When my desire shall be fulfilled, then I will let him go; and when I shall have sacrificed twenty rupees on the head of Nanak, then my desire will be fulfilled." Bhirai said, "Make the sacrifice then." Rama said, "How? there is no

¹⁷² i.e., He was so pleased that he wished to give some alms; but he did not see any one on whom to bestow them, although, usually on such occasions, there are a number of hangers-on ready to receive such.

one here to take it." Then Nanaki said, "Go Tulsan, and if you see any beggars, call them here." Tulsan went and called (some). Then Nanaki said, "O grandfather ! will you have the twenty rupees in silver or coppers ?" Then Rama said, "O daughter ! I will do as you shall say." Nanaki said, "Send for coppers." Then Rama called his son Kisna, and said, "Take these twenty rupees and bring coppers." Bhirai said, "Bring ten rupees worth for me also." Kisna also gave five rupees, and in all they sent for thirty-five rupees of coppers. Rama offered as sacrifice twenty rupees for himself, ten rupees for the maternal grandmother, and five rupees for the maternal uncle, Kisna.

In the year 1544, on the full moon of the month Maughar, on a Thursday, having carefully selected the time, they set forth from Sultanpur ; who went ? Kalu, Lalu, Rama, Kisna, Parmanand, (by family a) Palta, Jairam, and besides them, the servants ; Nidha Brahman had been sent on to Pak-hoke Randhawa, of which village Mula Chona was the land steward ; when Nidha Brahman gave the information to Mula Chona, he said, "O Mahita Mula ! be happy ;" then the Mahita Mula said, "Congratulations to thee, O Pandha ! come Sir ! whence have you come ?" Then Nidha said, "I have come from Sultanpur." Then Mula said, "Pandha, why have you come ?" Then Nidha said, "Bhai Jairam and Kalu Vedi, the father-in-law of Jairam, have both come to give the money for the preparations for the wedding ; and Jairam has said, 'Go and give intimation to Mula,' and therefore have I come, Sir." Then Mula said, "Come, you are welcome."¹⁷³ He came on Sunday, the 10th, when about a watch (three hours of the day) had passed ; then Mula got ready the requisites, and Parmanand, Palta, himself undertook the wedding preparations ; and the receiving of congratulations and other regular rites and customs were performed on both sides. Then Kalu Vedi said to Parmanand, "Bhaiya ! do you ask for the marriage-day to be fixed." Then Parmanand took Mula aside, and seated him ; and, having seated him, told him all the circumstances in a friendly manner, saying, "Behold, Mahita ji ! the lad is of age, and the girl also is of age ; do you therefore fix the day, for all the people of Talwandi have come, and all the Jhangars, the relations of the mother of the youth Nanak, have also come from the Manjha." Then Mula thus gave answer, "Bhaiya ! do you

¹⁷³ Lit. "With all my heart and forehead."

remain easy in mind ; give me a little time, and then I will, after due thought and reflection, fix you a good day, and let you know of it," and then, being dismissed with honour and much respect, they came and entered Sultanpur. Then the congratulations began to be made, and Bibi Nanaki, calling her companions, made them sit down and sing. On the fourth day, when they were taking leave, Mardana the Dum said, "Nanak, do you yourself now give me some marriage gift." Then Guru Nanak said, "Mardana, what will you take ? Have I any business with you ?" Then Mardana said, "Sir ! give me some good thing." Then Guru Nanak said, "Mardana, do you want some good thing ? but (take care, for) you will be affected with grief (from taking) that good thing." Mardana said, "Sir ! if you shall give me some good thing, then why should I suffer pain from it ?" Then Guru Nanak said, "Mardana, you are a Mirasi, and do not know anything about the future world." Then Mardana said, "Nanak, if you have any good thing, then give me it." Then Guru Nanak said, "Mardana ! I will give you skill on the strings, for it will be useful to me also." Then Mardana rose and stood up, and made an obeisance. Then Guru Nanak said, "Mardana, listen to one thing I have to say." Then Mardana said, "Sir, command." (He said) "O Mardana ! you are the family bard of the Vedis ; therefore you must not beg from any one else." Then Mardana said, "Sir, I have agreed to this matter ; but Sir ! do you have a care for me." Then Guru Nanak said, "Listen, Mardana ! the Creator takes care of all." Then again, they all departed for their homes, after meeting each other, with happiness and joy. Then the old state again came over Guru Nanak, and whoever came, he never sent him away empty (handed). Then people began to give rise to various reports, saying, "Nanak is now about to go away ; (therefore), come and let us tell Nanaki and Jairam." Then Nanaki said to Jairam, "See to it and do not be made doubtful by what people say." Although Jairam was inwardly reflecting over the matter, he did not outwardly give vent to (his thoughts). One day, Nanak himself said, "Sir, do you take all the accounts of the governor ; for it is a long time since you have done so." Then Jairam petitioned the Nawab, saying, "Nawab ! peace to you : Nanak, the store-keeper says, 'It will be well, if the Nawab takes the accounts.'" The Nawab replied, "Jairam, call the store-keeper." Then Jairam, sending Nidha, the Brahman, called Nanak. Nanak, taking his account book, set forth with joy :

but the people were saying in the ears of the Nawab, "O Nawab, peace be to thee! the storekeeper is stealing your money." When Nanak, bringing his account, came before the Nawab and made his obeisance, then the Nawab said, "O storekeeper! what is your name?" Guru Nanak said, "My name is Nanak Nirankari."¹⁷⁴ Then the Nawab said, "O Jairam! I do not at all understand what the storekeeper has said." Then Jairam translated it for the Nawab into Persian. "He says, 'I am the servant of Him, Whose epithets are the Incomparable, the Unsimilar, the Undoubtable, the Unparalleled.'" Then the Nawab laughed, and said, "O Jairam! has the storekeeper been married (yet)?" Jairam said, "No, he is not yet married." The Nawab said, "Now, I understand that he is married (to God), inasmuch as he gives vent to such words." Then the Nawab said, "Listen Nanak! I have heard that you are stealing my money; do you know that I am Daulat Khan, the Lodi?" Then Guru Nanak said, "Nawab, peace be to you! do you take your accounts, and whatever may come out, as the portion of this poor one, then, if it pleases you, give it, if not, do not give it." Then the Nawab said, "O Jairam! what is the storekeeper saying?" Jairam said, "Peace be to you! the storekeeper is truthful, the storekeeper is not at fault." Then the Nawab said, "Call Jado Rai, the writer." Then Jado Rai, the writer, came, and made his obeisance. The Nawab said, "O Jado Rai, take the account from Nanak." Then they began to settle the accounts. The accounts took five days and five nights (settling). Jado Rai, the writer, made many enquiries, but found that he had not acted in any way, against God and the truth. Three hundred and twenty-one rupees came out as surplus for Nanak; then Jairam was pleased, and made his salaam to the Nawab. The Nawab said, "What Jairam! are the accounts done?" Jairam said, "Nawab, peace be to you! call Jado Rai." Then Jado Rai was called. When Jado Rai came, he made his salaam to the Nawab. The Nawab said, "O Jado Rai! have you taken the accounts?" Jado Rai said, "O Nawab, peace be to you! the account has been taken, and three hundred and twenty-one rupees remain over to Nanak." The Nawab said, "To me or to him?" Jado Rai said, "O Nawab, peace be to you! they are due from you to Nanak." The Nawab said, "Then why did people say, that Nanak was robbing my money?" Then Jairam petition-

¹⁷⁴ He received this name, because he was heard to be continually saying "Nirankar, Nirankar."

ed, "O Nawab, peace be to you ! people show much enmity to him." The Nawab said, "Call Bhawani Das." The treasurer came and made his obeisance. Then the Nawab said, "O Bhawani Das, make over to Nanak whatever is due to him, and also give him three thousand rupees besides." On this, Bhawani Das paid up the three hundred and twenty-one rupees due, and gave three thousand rupees besides. Then Nanak, taking the bags, came home ; some he took to the store, and the rest he placed with Bibi (Nanaki). Then Jairam was greatly pleased and returned home, much rejoiced. Then Nanaki asked, "How have the accounts turned out, Sir ?" Then Jairam said, "Listen, O beloved of God ! I was greatly surprised, for Nanak is always throwing away the money, but whenever the account is taken, a balance comes out to his credit." Again Nanaki said, "Sir ! what balance did there remain to-day ?" Then Jairam said, "Three hundred and twenty-one rupees surplus remained after paying all expenses, and (accounting for monies) given away." Then Nanaki said, "Sir, no one has gained so much profit, as Rai Bular has in this." Then Jairam said, "Listen, O beloved of God ! not only has the Rai made profit in this, but many people will obtain profit from him." On this Nanaki was highly delighted.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE DISCOURSE REGARDING THE MARRIAGE OF NANAK

In the year 1544, on the ninth of the bright half of the month Har, the marriage of Guru Nanak was fixed to take place. Then Bibi Nanaki made great rejoicings in her home, and having written a letter, sent it by the hand of Nidha Brahman, after having sprinkled it with kungu ;¹⁷⁵ she also sent sweetmeats and cardamoms and five rupees in cash to Talwandi to the house of Kalu. Then joy and pleasure arose in the house of Kalu. Kalu sent a man to the Manjha to his father-in-law, and then rejoicings were made there also, and bhajis¹⁷⁶ were sent out. Then Kalu went to Rai Bular, (who was the headman) in his own village, and having gone there, said, "O Rai ! may you be blessed !" Then the Rai said, "What is it, Kalu ?" Kalu said, "The marriage day of your slave Nanak has been fixed." Then the Rai said, "Do not again call Nanak my slave ; if you do, then I shall be very angry." Then Kalu said, "Sir, to be respectful is incumbent on me." (The Rai asked) "What Kalu ! are other forms of respect too few?" (Kalu said) "Well, Sir ! forgive me this fault ; I forgot myself." Then the Rai said, "Go, Kalu, God will forgive you ; go, may your desire be fulfilled, and give my respects to Nanak." Who went on the day fixed for the marriage ? Kalu, Lalu, Parasram, Indrasain, Phiranda, Jagat Mall, Lal Chand, Jagat Rai, Jatt Mall, and all the Vedis that came : these all got ready to go ; when the first of the month Bhaddon came, and seven days had passed, then they set forth from Talwandi and from the Manjha ; the maternal grandfather, Rama, also came ; the maternal uncle, Kisna, also came ; and when they came, they stopped at Sultanpur ; they began the festivities in the house of Parmanand, Palta, and Jairam. When five days remained to the marriage day, then, having had the fortunate moment for departing settled, they set forth from Sultanpur, and, departing thence, they arrived on the marriage day. Parmanand, Palta, the father of Jairam sent Nidha Brahman to the house of Mula, saying "Go, Nidha

¹⁷⁵ The name of a very fine pure composition of a red colour, made from the aunla, a medicinal plant, and used by women to anoint their foreheads.

¹⁷⁶ A present of fruits, sweetmeats, &c., sent by the parents of a bride and bridegroom to their friends, when inviting them to the wedding.

and give information to Mula, saying, 'Do you know that the wedding party of the Vedis has come ?' Then Nidha Brahman went and gave information to Mula Chona and, on arriving gave him a blessing and said, "O my client !¹⁷⁷ may you be happy !" Then Mula quickly replied, "O Pandha (accept) my salutations." Then Nidha said, "O my client ! the wedding party has arrived and put up in the garden, and then have sent me to give you intimation. Bhaiya Parmanand said to me, 'Go and give intimation to Mahita Kalu.' " Then Mula collected his brotherhood and went to Hitta Randhawa, and, standing before him, began to say, "O Master ! the marriage party of the Vedis has come, and alighted in the garden." Then Hitta Randhawa said, "O my son Ajita ! do you go with Mula, and whatever Mula may ask, supply him with, and do you also remain with them. Listen Mula ! my body has become old, otherwise, I myself would go with you." (Mula said), "O my master ! whatever are your orders, they are (received as coming) from yourself." (Hitta said), "Listen, Mula ! respectable people have come to your house, and you must show them proper respect, and keep your tongue silent ; this is my command. I have heard that Kalu Vedi, the land steward of Bhattian, uses hard words and you also have a sharp tongue ; but Parmanand is looked on as a man who shows respect ; you must also, on your part, show respect." Then Mula said, "Very well my lord ! you are my protector ; my hope is from you and from God." (Hitta said) "Well Mula, go and receive them with respect and bring them here." Then Mula, having assembled the village committee, sent a choice batchri ;¹⁷⁸ Ajita Randhawa remained present with them, and treated them with honour. Afterwards, at night, the wedding party set forth and, with much singing and music, entered the village. On the 20th of Bhaddon, the marriage commenced, and, in the early morning, when five gharis of the night were left, the four circumambulations round the marriage fire took place, with the following song in the Suha Rag :

The first circumambulation (is made) in the name of God,

¹⁷⁷ Jajman is a person, on whose custom Brahmans, barbers, &c., have a legal claim. The hereditary Brahman, barber, &c., of a village must be paid his fees, whether his services be employed or not.

¹⁷⁸ The food, which, according to a custom among the higher classes of Hindus, is sent by the family of a bride to the lodging of a bridegroom and his family on the first day of the wedding ceremonies, as it is contrary to rule to receive the bridegroom and his family under the bride's roof on the first day.

to give firmness in worldly works ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God.

From the words of Brahma, i.e., the Vedas, religion obtains strength, and sin is forgiven ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God.

Make your religion firm, and meditate on the name of God ; the name of God is also remembered in the Simrits ;

Look on the True Guru as a perfect Guru, for He will efface all impurity and anger and sin ;

The blessed obtain joy with ease, for the name of God sounds sweet to their heart ;

At the first circumambulation, Nanak (says). "The business (of remembering God) is commenced."

The second circumambulation (is made) in the name of God, and the True Guru is obtained by man ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God !

Then the fear in one's mind becomes fearlessness, and one's pride is washed away ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God !

One obtains the pure fear from singing the praises of God ;

God, Himself, lives in all hearts ;

God is in the spirit of man, and God fills everything ;

Within and without, there is one God ; the worshippers of God assemble and laud His name.

At the second circumambulation, Nanak (says), "Innumerable musical instruments began to be sounded."

The third circumambulation (is made) in the name of God ; the minds of the Bhairagis are filled with joy ; I sacrifice myself to thee, O God !

The holy have union with God, and he, who obtains God, great is his fortune ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God !

He, who obtains the Pure God, and sings God's praises, his mouth always utters His words ;

The holy are very fortunate, for they, who obtain God, tell forth the untellable tale of God ;

In the hearts of all, the thought of God arises ; that soul only can take his name, in whose fate it is so written.

In the third circumambulation, Nanak (says). "The (love of the name) of God arises in the heart of the worshippers."

The fourth circumambulation (is made) in the Name of God ; the heart is comforted when God is obtained ; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God ;

I found God through the saying of the Guru, and God, then with ease, appeared sweet to¹⁷⁹ my body and soul; I sacrifice myself to Thee, O God!

He, to whom the Name of God is sweet, is pleasing to my Lord, and his hopes are continually fixed on Him; What his heart wished, of it he obtained the fruit; O saint! the name of God gives great joy; When God, the Creator and Lord, directs one's affairs, then thanks to His name appears as wealth to the heart of His worshippers.

In the fourth circumambulation Nanak (says) "God, the Lord, the Everlasting One, is obtained."

The wedding took place and was performed with much joy; then, I, Bala said, "O Guru this is what I have to say: I say it, after having seen with my own eyes, and I do not say what I have only heard." Guru Angad, from hearing certain things, was pleased, and from hearing others, began to long for separation (from the world). Now Guru Nanak, at the time of the circumambulations, had said, (to me) "O Bala, do thou remain with me," for whatever secret expenses Nanak had, were paid by me. I replied, "Very well, Sir! I will remain with you! O Guru! it has been performed with much joy." For three days, the wedding party continued, and the fourth day, they departed; and having brought (the bride) in a doli, they came to Sultanpur. Then Kalu, Lalu, and Jairam said, "Let the bridegroom and bride remain here, for if not, then, afterwards, who will carry on the business of the store?" Then Kalu said, "O son Nanak! your mother is seated here, waiting for you; her desire is for you to have happiness." This contention was going on, when afterwards Mula came in. Then Mula Chona said, "If the bride and bridegroom remain here, and are not sent to Talwandi, then the dispute will not be continued." Then Parmanand said, "O Mulchand, this is the first time (they have come) since their wedding; and this is also the pleasure and desire of the boy's mother, that they should go to their house, and then come back and remain here. The business of the store is certainly here: then how can they arrange to live there?¹⁸⁰ It must be done in this way; let them take (the bride in) the doli to their house." Then they took the dolis with Nanak and Mata Choni seated in them, to Talwandi. When Nanak was setting

¹⁷⁹ i.e. Was believed in by.

¹⁸⁰ i.e., Let them go, but they must not stay, but return quickly.

out for Talwandi, then he said to me. "Bhai Bala ; do you carry on the business till my return." I replied, "O Guru ! I am a Jatt, how can this business be carried on by me ?" Then again the Guru answered, "Bhai Bala ! God will carry on the business ; do you remain as my medium.¹⁸¹ I will, certainly return in a month ; do you till then carry on the business." Then I said, "Very well, Guru ji ! whatever you shall tell me to do, that I will do." Then they all went to Talwandi. The Guru gave me no information of what took place there ; I do not know what joys the Guru experienced in Talwandi, or how he passed his time. Then the Guru, having come from Talwandi, settled in Sultanpur ; and when he came, he went and visited his sister Nanaki, and Jairam also. Then Mata Choni also came and fell at the feet of her sister-in-law ; on this, Bibi Nanaki, said "Be happy," and kissed the forehead of Mata Choni, and, having pressed her to her neck, seated her by herself. Then next day, Guru Nanak came and sat in the store, and Mata Choni went to her parents' house ; Mula came and fetched her ; then Guru Nanak came and began to carry on the business of the store. As Kalu had said, so Mula found to be the case, and Nanak went on behaving just as he used to do, and used to show little love for his wife ; on this, Mata Choni became annoyed and vexed, for the Guru showed no care to please her ; and the Guru never spoke to her, and two months passed without his going to his house. When Mula came to see his daughter, then the daughter said to Mula, "O father ! where have you given me (in marriage) ? This man only feeds (poor) people, and has no care for his family." Then Mula went to Jairam, and entering into words with him, said, "You have drowned me and my daughter," and he said to Nanak, "O you ! where were you born ? you were written in my fate, therefore I have got you (as a son-in-law)." Then the Guru Nanak said nothing in reply, and being greatly vexed, he (Mula) got up and went away. Then he sent for Mata Choni, and she came to the house of the Guru ; and they (the parents of Mata Choni) came and quarrelled with him, and always made it a habit (to do so). Chandorani was the name of the mother-in-law of Guru Nanak ; and the daughter used to weep much, when with her ; and she (the mother-in-law) became greatly enraged ; and being angry, began to fight with Nanaki and to say, "What wonderful commands are these you have begun to issue ? Have you no fear of God ? Why do you not

¹⁸¹ i.e., Representative.

bring your brother to order ? Will you not look after your sister-in-law ? and will not the sister's husband (Jairam) explain to the sister's brother (Nanak) ? What has come into your hearts ?" Then Bibi Nanaki said, "Listen, O aunt ! if I admonish my brother, what shall I say to him ? My brother is not a thief, nor an adulterer, nor a gambler, nor does he commit evil acts, and whatever he earns, he can do as he likes with it. You may complain if your daughter should remain naked or hungry ; but if, when she is well and happy, with plenty to eat and drink, you abuse us, then you can (do so) ; you know (best). I will not disgrace my mouth by saying any thing to you. As regards jewels, she has jewels, as much as are required, and with regard to clothes, she has clothes sufficient, and as regards food, she suffers no hunger ; and I always receive her with welcome, and I never speak to her without using the respectful title of 'Bhabbi' (sister-in-law) ; but if you shall, unjustly and unprovoked, blame me and the son of a Khattri, then what can we do ? Do as you please, we will say nothing to you. You talk nonsense." Then Chandorani became silent, and departed, and could say nothing ; and, being ashamed, went away. Then she went to her daughter and said, "Listen, O daughter. Sulakhmi ! (the name she was called by in her mother's house was Sulakhmi) your sister-in-law has shamed me, and I could give her no answer. Behold, daughter ! do you also soften a little, and be quiet." Then Sulakhmi replied, "Mother, I do not remain hungry or in want of clothes ; as to jewels, clothes, food and drink, I have all I want." (Then the mother said) "Daughter, if you have all, then why do you blame and abuse the son of a Khattri ?" Then Mata Choni said, "Mother, what shall I do ? he does not love me at all, and he does not speak kindly to me ; what shall I do ? To whom shall I tell my tale ?" Then Chandorani again came to Bibi Nanaki, and, on arrival, began to say, "O Nanaki ! I spoke again to your brother's wife, Sulakhmi ; on which she began to say, 'O mother, I do not remain hungry or in want of clothes ; I have lots of jewels and clothes, but he never speaks kindly to me, and he never loves me, what shall I do ?'" Then Bibi Nanaki replied, "O my aunt, Chandorani ! do you listen ; my sister-in-law's manner is very hard and exacting ; and if I send for her, sometimes she comes, and sometimes she does not come ; and how does she come ? She comes on fire as a red hot iron ; but then even, I do not let it come into my mind that she is younger than I, but I say, 'May you be happy.' Well ! as she was betrothed

through my instrumentality and is the daughter of a respectable Khattri, perhaps she will gain experience ; I will not put her under any obligations ;¹⁸² there has been no quarrel¹⁸³ between us." Then Chandorani said, "True, daughter Nanaki ; there is no want of anything, but you yourself must know, that the desire of women should be fulfilled." Then Bibi Nanaki said, "True, my aunt ; you speak truly, and she also speaks truly ; perhaps God may make things turn out right ; do you comfort your daughter, and explain (the matter) to her. O my aunt ! you must well know whether I am taking my brother's part. Well aunt ! do you now go home ; if God will, then I will give my sister-in-law much comfort." Then Cahndorani went home. One day Guru Nanak came to see Jairam, and he also saw Bibi Nanaki. Then Bibi Nanaki said, "God has been very merciful to us to-day, in that you have given us a sight of yourself." Guru Nanak replied, "O Bibi, I am your slave, you are my elder." Then the Bibi said, "O brother ! in age I am greater, but not in actions ; brother, he is the greater, who is greater in actions." The Guru replied, "O Bibi, God has revealed this to you ; God has been kind to you." Then the Bibi said, "O brother ! I shall regard God as being kind to me, when you will do as I say." Then Guru Nanak, being pleased, said, "Speak, Bibi, I will do what you say, you are my elder sister ; speak then, and whatever you shall say with your mouth, I will do." Then Bibi Nanaki said, "O brother ! I am made greatly ashamed, because you never give any pleasure to my sister-in-law, and Sir, when we bring into our own family the daughter of our respectable brotherhood, then if they are not made happy, one suffers great shame therefrom. You are a holy man, do you reflect in your mind, and do as I have said." Then Baba Nanak said, "O Bibi ! is she in want of anything ?" She said, "Brother, why should she be in want, when, by God's gift, she has every thing ; but the comfort received from words is greater than every thing else ; and even if one has nothing else, still one must receive the comfort of kind words, and this the nature of women most certainly demands." Then the Baba said, "O Bibi ! do you take comfort in your mind in this matter ; I will do what you say ; and now do you leave off the mention of this, and speak of something else." Then

¹⁸² i.e. By giving her advice.

¹⁸³ Lit. "Joining together." The signification of this sentence is, that if two pieces of cloth are joined together, there still is some very small division left between them ; but Bibi Nanaki says, there has been no joining together between us, for we are, and always have been, one.

Bibi Nanaki said, "O brother ! this is the matter that is in my mind, that I may behold your offspring and carry them about in my lap." Then Guru Nanak said, "Very well, Bibi ! that which you desire, it will certainly be done." Then having said this, he set off, and did as Nanaki had asked, and began to show affection to his wife.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE DISCOURSE WITH PANDAT SAMA

Same Pandat said, "Come Mula, let us see where Nanak is." Mula said, "Sir ! he lives much in the graveyards." Mula and Sama both came to Nanak. Nanak was then seated in a graveyard. Sama Pandat said, "O Nanak, what disguise is this which you have assumed ? and what foolish¹⁸⁴ deeds are these you are doing ? Come ! and set yourself to some work." It was then the spring season (basant), and there came into Guru Nanak's mind a verse in the Basant Rag.

"The king is a child, the city is half built and is in love with the five wicked ones.

There are two mothers, and two fathers, who are saying, Pandat, consider this.

O holy saints, give me such an understanding, by which I may obtain my God (soul's lord)."

The meaning is ; the body is a half built city, the mind is the young king ; lust, anger, avarice, love, and pride are the five evil things ; the two mothers are the eyes ; the two fathers are the ears, and they even, in seeing and hearing, are longing for worldly things."

Then again Mula, the father-in-law, said, "If this fire (of the love of God) has been set alight in you, then why have you given birth to children, and then, being distressed, forsaken them ?" Then Guru Nanak recited another verse ;

"Within there is a fire, and the forest is putting forth its fresh leaves ; the sea is the body ;

The sun and moon are both within the body ; but you have not obtained this knowledge."

The meaning of it is ; the fire within one is desire, and the forest (for keeping up the fire) are one's sons, daughters, wives, wealth and means of subsistence. You, O Sama Pandat, are the kurm and jawai.¹⁸⁵ The light of the moon

¹⁸⁴ Lit. "Raw."

¹⁸⁵ Kurm is a daughter's father, and Jawai a son-in-law.

is the heart, but the moonshine will only cast its light abroad, when a perfect Guru is found.

Sama Pandat said, "O Nanak ! do you live in your house, but at the same time, both remember God and employ yourself in (the duties of) your own vocation, for God takes care of all." Then Nanak recited a third verse—

"Look on him as a worshipper of God, who regards all (friends and foes) as one ;

Regard this, as His custom, that He possesses the power of forgiveness."

The meaning of it is, that Ram takes care of all, but His kindness is especially shown on those, who show love and patience, and he, to whom He has given these qualities, His kindness is particularly shown to him. Mula said, "To-day, he has become mad, and will not listen to the saying of any one." Then Pandat Sama asked, "Will you listen to what any one will say ?" Then Guru Nanak recited the final verse—

"(Alas that) he, who is my companion, will not listen to me, and only desires something to eat ;

Nanak, the slave of slaves says, "Sometimes it is pleased, sometimes angry."

The meaning of it is this, that the tongue obeys the saying of no one ; it utters both praise and reproach ; it (desires but) knows not what is fit to eat and what is not ; it speaks both bitterly and sweetly, and with it, one has continually to remain ; (Nanak continued) "Listen, O Sama Pandat ! If God be merciful, then this evil tongue, evil deeds, and evil pleasures will all be removed." On hearing this, the Pandat Sama was comforted.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE DISCOURSE WITH NAWAB DAULAT KHAN

Then Mula Chona, the father-in-law of Guru Nanak, went to the Nawab and complained. Nawab Daulat Khan, Lodi, said, "O Yar Khan ! who is this ? and of whom does he complain ?" Yar Khan asked, "Mula ! who are you ? and of whom do you complain ?" Mula replied, "I am the father-in-law of Nanak, the storekeeper, and I complain against Nanak." Yar Khan said to the Nawab, "Nawab ! peace be to you ! this is the father-in-law of Nanak, and he has a complaint against Nanak." The Nawab said, "Yar

Khan, bring him before me." Yar Khan brought Mula before him, and the Nawab asked Mula, "Well ! what complaint have you against Nanak ?" "Mula petitioned, "Nawab, peace be to you ! the seven hundred and sixty rupees, which remained over surplus to Nanak, I pray that they may be given to Nanak's family."¹⁸⁶ The Nawab said, "O Mula ! but Nanak says, give them to beggars." Again Mula said, "Nawab, peace be to you ! Nanak is somewhat mad." Then the Nawab said, "They certainly have a right to them ; let Nanak be made over to a Mulla." Then a Mulla went and began to use his charms on the Guru Nanak, but Guru Nanak sat before him quite absorbed in thought, and when he began to put the burnt roll of candle-wick to the nose of Nanak, then the Guru said :

Stanza

"He, whose field is spoilt, there is no occasion for (his having) a threshing floor ;

Alas for their lives, who write the name of God (on paper), and sell it (as a charm) !"

Then the Mula began to say, "Who are you ? tell me your name." Then the Guru uttered these verses in the Maru Rag ;

"Some call me an evil spirit, some say I am a devil ;

Some say, I am a man ; but I am simple Nanak ;

But Nanak, the insane, has become mad (only in love for) his God.

And now he knows no one but God.

Pause

They look on me as mad, because I am mad in fear (of Him) ;

There is only one Lord ; I do not know any other but Him.

They look on me as mad, because I am always doing the work of That One ;

I recognize the command of my Lord, and look on none other but Him as wise ;

They look on me as mad, because my Lord has become dear to me ;

They look on me as wicked, and all the rest of the world as good."

The Mula was comforted, and began to praise him, saying, "Nawab, peace be to you ! Nanak is not mad ; he has

¹⁸⁶ By family, wife is meant.

met with some saint ; he is in his senses." The Nawab said, "Call Jairam." Jairam came and paid his respects. (The Nawab asked) "O Jairam ! what shall I do ? we cannot keep Nanak's money, and Nanak says, 'give it to beggars ;' his father-in-law has complained against him, and the Mula has said, 'Nanak is in his senses ;' therefore as you shall say, so I shall act." Jairam was greatly afraid of Nanak, and therefore remained silent. The Nawab asked, "O Jairam ! why do you not give an answer ?" He gave reply, "O Nawab, peace be to you ! you know everything ; what shall I say in reply ?" Then the Nawab said, "O Jairam ! his family certainly has a just right to it." Jairam said, "O Nawab, peace be to you ! Nanak himself is also present, and has not gone any distance off." The Nawab said, "Send for Nanak." Some one went to call Nanak, but Nanak would not come. The man returned, and when he came back, said, "He will not come." The Nawab Daulat Khan, becoming angry, said, "Go, seize, and bring him." Then some persons went and told him, "O Nanak ! the Nawab is very angry." Nanak then rose and got up, and came and paid his respects to the Nawab. The Nawab, being very angry, asked, "O Nanak ! why would you not come ?" Nanak said, "Listen, Nawab ! when I was your servant, then I used to come ; now I am not your servant ; I am now the servant of God." Then the Nawab said, "If such be your mind, then come along with me, and say your prayers, for it is Friday to-day." Then Nanak said, "Come along, Sir, what you say is very proper." Then the Nawab, in company with Nanak and the Kazi and many¹⁸⁷ other respectable people, went and came and stood in the Juma Masjit ;¹⁸⁸ then all the people, who were in the Juma Masjit, began to say, "Behold ! to-day Nanak has joined this sect." This was noised abroad among all the Hindus ; and Jairam, being greatly grieved, returned home. When Nanaki saw that her husband was very sad that day, she rose and got up and said to him, "Sir ! what is the reason that you are so sad to-day ?" Jairam said, "Hear, O beloved of God ! what thy brother Nanak has done to-day ; he went with the Nawab to the Juma Masjit to say his prayers, and it has been noised abroad among all the Hindus and Muhammadans of this city, that Nanak has, to-day, become a Musalman ; then, why should not I be sad ?" Then Nanaki said, "Just you get up and eat your food, and do not have any

¹⁸⁷ Lit. "How can they be counted ?"

¹⁸⁸ i.e. Mosque or Juma Masjit.

anxiety on account of Nanak, but remain happy at heart ; O my husband ! Nanak is my brother and God is his keeper, and no one can look on him with an evil eye ; therefore, do you just get up and eat your food." They were thus conversing when a noise was heard. Now Jairam had left Nidha Brahman as a spy. Nidha Brahman also arrived soon after, and came and blessed Jairam, saying, "O my client,¹⁸⁹ all is well ; you need have no anxieties." Then Jairam and Nanaki both began to ask, "Say, O Nidha Brahman ! how did it end ?" Nidha said, "Sir ! I was not inside, but I heard from the mouth of the Musalmans, that, when the Nawab said his prayers, Nanak stood up ; then the Nawab said to Nanak 'O Nanak, you came to say prayers ; then why do you not say your prayers ?' Then Nanak said, 'With whom was I to say my prayers ?' Then the Nawab said, 'You could say your prayers with me.' Guru Nanak said, 'You had gone to Kandahar to buy horses ; with whom could I say my prayers ?' Then Daulat Khan said, 'O Nanak, why do you say such false things, when I am standing here ?' Nanak said, 'Listen, O Khan ! your body was standing here, but that, which says the prayers, had gone to Kandahar to buy horses.' Then the Kaji said, 'See, Nawab, peace be to you ! what lies this Hindu tells !' The Nawab said, 'Kaji ! Nanak spoke true ; at the time, I was bending my head in prayer, my mind had gone to Kandahar to buy horses.' Then the Kaji began to whisper, saying, 'Listen, Khan ! I had not gone any where ; why could he not say his prayers with me ?' The Nawab said, 'Nanak, you could have said your prayers with the Kaji ?' Nanak said, 'O Nawab ! the Kaji had gone to his home to look after his colt, lest the colt should have fallen into a pit.' On this, they both were satisfied. Bhai, I have just heard this and come here." Then Bibi Nanaki said, "Brahman, where have you left my brother, Nanak ?" Nidha said, "O my (female) client ! I left him there." Then Jairam began to quarrel with Nidha, saying, "If you had remained there, Nanak would have come out, and you would have met with him." Then Nidha said, "Sir ! he was in the Masjit ; but all the people had departed and gone to their homes ; I did not see him, nor do I know where he went to." Then Nanaki comforted Jairam and began to say, "Sir ! do you not have any anxiety about him ! Nanak will come immediately."

¹⁸⁹ Jijman (feminine jijmani) is the client of a Brahman, barber, &c., i.e., person on whose custom they have a legal right and who must pay them a fee, whether he employ them or any one else.

Just then, Nanak came and entered the house of Jairam, and Tulsan, the maid, called out from below. "Your brother has come, O mistress !" Then Bibi Nanaki was greatly delighted¹⁹⁰ and said, "Sir ! did I not say that God was Nanak's Helper, and that no one was able to look at Nanak with an evil eye ?" Jairam was greatly pleased and began to say, "Wife ! you indeed have great faith in him ;" he then began to ask Nanak, saying, "Say brother Nanak ! what are the circumstances of the occurrence ? we were greatly alarmed ; do you tell us your own story." Then Nanak said, "O brother-in-law ! let it be ! let the past be past." Then, again, Jairam said, "Brother Nanak ! if any one shall ask me about this, what shall I say ? there is no reliance to be placed on what one hears from people, but what I shall hear from you, that (I know) will be a correct account." Then Guru Nanak said, "Brother-in-law ! Daulat Khan began to say his prayers and the Kaji also to say his ; but I remained standing on one side. When the Nawab had finished his prayers, then he began to say to me, 'O Nanak ! why (this) ! I thought you came to say your prayers ; then why did you not say your prayers ?' I replied.

'The forehead, he knocked on the ground ; the heart he raised to heaven ;

(But the soul of) Daulat Khan, Pathan, (had gone) to Kandahar to buy horses.'

The Nawab said, 'I do not understand at all (what you mean, when) you say, I had gone to Kandahar to buy horses ; and with whom should you say your prayers.' Then the Kaji said, 'See O Khan ! what lies this Hindu tells.' Then the Khan said, 'Kaji, the Hindu speaks truth ; at that time when I bent my head, my heart had gone to Kandahar after horses.' Then again the Kaji said, 'Sir, you had, perhaps, gone after the horses, but I had not gone anywhere : could he not have prayed with me ?' Then I said to the Kaji. 'Kaji, thou wast in the Masjid ; in (thy) courtyard a pit was dug ; while bowing down on the ground, (thy) spirit was with (thy) colt.' Then the Nawab said : 'Nanak, what is this you have said ?' I said : 'O Khan ! the Kaji's horse had brought forth a colt, and in his courtyard is a pit ; when the Kaji was making his bow, his spirit was dwelling on the colt, (thinking that) perhaps the colt might fall into the pit and be killed ; this is what I said, O Khan !' Then Daulat Khan laughing began to say, 'Why

¹⁹⁰ Lit. "From one became four."

Kaji ! what is Nanak saying ? Speak truly !' The Kaji replied, 'O Khan, it is indeed so.' The Nawab said, 'Kaji ! Nanak is a perfect devotee, now we can say nothing to him.' Then the Nawab said, 'Nanak, we do not wish to keep your money, but as your father-in-law has complained, and requested that we should not give it to beggars, say now, to whom shall we give the money ?' Then I said to the Nawab, 'I have already told you (my wishes) ; the rest you can decide.' Then the Nawab said, 'Listen, Nanak ! I will give half the money to your family, and half I will give into your own hands to give to beggars.' Then I said, 'I know nothing about it, but you know best.' I have now come, after having said these words. Now, brother-in-law, your heart may either take it well or bad." Then Jairam said, "O brother ! whatever you may have done, was good." Then again Nanaki said, "Sir ! do you not yet believe ? get up and eat your food." Then Jairam said, "O wife ! you are Nanak's sister, and therefore, you are somewhat partial to him. I was suspicious without cause ; Praised be God ! Praised be Guru Nanak, and praised be you also, who are his sister, and praised a little be I also, that I am married to you." Then Jairam, Nanak, and I (Bala) ate some food. We were seated eating, when Mula arrived, and Chandorani, who was the mother-in-law of Nanak, also came with him. Before (this), Mula and Sama Pandat, had been quarrelling about Nanak, but when Chandorani, the mother-in-law of Nanak, came and saw Nanak, she flashed as the lighting flashes, and began to say, "Listen, O Nanak ! did you marry for this reason that you should have a family and leave them ?" On this, Nanak recited a verse in the Maru Rag.—

"When the father and mother join together, the body is formed ;

But God decrees what is to happen to that (body) ;

He decrees its wealth, its glory, and greatness ;

But it (the body), being taken up with the love of the world, destroys that form ;

O foolish heart ! why are you so filled with pride ?

(Know) that you will have to depart, when it is your Lord's Will.

Pause

Eschew the world's joys, and then you will easily obtain true joys ;

We must all leave this house, for none can stay here.

(It would be right) to spend part, and to save part,
 If (we knew that) we should return again to the world.
 Whilst in the world, we adorn our bodies, and wear silk,
 And issue many commands ;
 We have handsome beds and sleep peacefully ;
 But why do we weep, when about to die ?
 This house (of the world) is a whirlpool, O Brother !
 Our sins are as stones, which cannot swim therein ;
 But make a boat of the fear (of God), and seat your soul
 thereon.

Nanak says '(God) reveals (this matter) to a few only.' "

Then Chandorani went on chatting. Mula did not again give up his daughter. Lakhmi Das was at that time a baby in arms, and Siri Chand was about four years and three-quarters old.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE DISCOURSE WITH RAI BULHAR

Then Guru Nanak and we two (Mardana and Bala), setting out from Emnabad, arrived in seven days at Talwandi. Then the Rai was informed that Bala and Mardana had brought Guru Nanak ; Kalu and Lalu and the Amman Bibi were all three seated together. They heard that their son Nanak had come, but (did not know) where he was. (They said) "He will be at the well of Chandrabhan, Sandhu." Chandrabhan was the name of the father of Bala ; the three went there together. They went to see, but when they looked, they were surprised at¹⁹¹ the appearance of Guru Nanak ; it was as follows : he had a cloth, about a yard or two long, over his head and shoulders, and a sheet over him, and he also had another cloth round his waist. Kalu, on seeing this his appearance, was greatly enraged. Now Lalu, Vedi, was cleverer than Kalu, although he was his junior in years. Then Lalu said, "Brother Kalu ! we are the sons of Sio Ram, Vedi, and we are the offspring of one and the same Banarsi (mother) ; therefore your shame and mine are one ; do you therefore take him to the Rai." Then Kalu became silent. On this, Lalu said, "O boy Nanak ! I am your uncle, and there is very little difference in years between your (father) and me ; if you will not mind my brother Kalu, at least mind your (mother) Amman Bibi, and me : there is no difference between

¹⁹¹ Lit. "What was."

a father and uncle ; do you go home." Then Guru Nanak said, "To-day I have chosen one abode (that of God) ; and have left the many houses (of the world) ;" on this his mother fell at his feet. Then Lalu said, "O son Nanak ! you are a holy man, and mercy becomes the holy ; well, this is your mother, and I am your uncle, and my brother, Kalu, is your father ; see, my brother is my companion (in asking you) ; you cannot therefore now make any excuse ; moreover as he is older than I, he is as my father." Then Guru Nanak gave utterance to these verses in the Ram Keli Rag.—

"Call patient endurance my mother, and contentment my father ;

Call truth my uncle, for with these my heart has conquered its passions.

Listen, Lalu, to these good qualities ; but, as all people are bound in chains,

How can they tell what are good qualities ?

Affection for God is my brother, and love of the true God is my son ;

Patience has become my daughter, and in such I am absorbed.

Forbearance is my companion, and prudence is my disciple ;

Call these my family, who always remain with me.

The one Supreme Being is my Lord, and He it is, who created me.

If Nanak left Him, and became attached to some one else, he would be put to pain."

Then again Lalu said, "Brother Kalu ! he will not mind me ; do you try and take him once to the Rai, and then you also will have no further doubts." Kalu said, "Well, son Nanak, do you come to the Rai." Then Guru Nanak said, "Very well, Sir, come along." At that time, the Rai was seated on a bedstead ; although his body had become old, still as soon as the Rai saw Nanak, he commenced to rise ; but Nanak immediately went and held him down to the bed, and placed his hands on the feet of the Rai ; then the Rai said, "Alas, O holy devotee ! you have committed a great tyranny. I had called thee to do worship at thy feet ; thou hast made me a great sinner." Then Guru Nanak said, "O Rai ! you are my elder ; I am your servant." Then again the Rai said, "O holy devotee ; do you forgive me, and ask God to forgive me." Then Guru Nanak said, "Rai ! you were at once for-

given." Then the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! do you show some of your kindness to me." Then Guru Nanak said, "Where I (go), there you (will go) also."¹⁹² Then the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! my desire will then be fulfilled, when you shall have placed your feet on my head." When the Rai had much implored (him), then Guru Nanak came and sat on the bed, and the Rai placed his head at his feet, and was satisfied. Then again the Rai said, "Go, Umaidā, and call Sudha Brahman." Then Umaidā called Sudha Brahman. Sudha Brahman came, and, blessing him, said, "Rai ! may you remain happy." Then the Rai said, "Sudha ! bring some cooking vessels from your house, and make a feast, and feed the holy devotee before me." Then the Rai asked, "O holy devotee ! what food will you eat ?" Then Guru Nanak said, "Rai, what God sends, that I eat." (The Rai said) "No ! holy saint ! I asked for some other reason ; and if you will command, then I will have a goat killed. Then Guru Nanak said, "This is not the place for commanding ; whatever you shall send, that will be well." Then the Rai said, "Come Umaidā, kill a goat and prepare it ; be quick !" Then Sudha Brahman brought the vessels, and said, "I have brought the vessels." Then the Rai said, "Very well, Sudha, do you first make something sweet, and then we will have something salted." Then Guru Nanak uttered these verses in the Maru Rag :

"The sweets are His secrets, the salted things, the hope of gaining Him, and the sour food, the perfect contemplation of Him,

And he, who eats such food, that man is holy.

Pause

O Rai ! food of this kind is necessary, and let everything else go ;

Give me the fruits of enjoying true gladness, from eating which I may be satisfied.

The tree of the True Guru, root and branches, has brought forth fruit, do you collect that food, and eat it ;

The Name of God is as nectar, and the tongue is as sweet honey, and he will drink of it, to whom God gives it ;

The sight of the everlasting Form is the most perfect (form), and he who obtains that, God remains in his heart.

Nanak says, 'He who enjoys the taste of the Incorporeal One, will taste much joy ;

¹⁹² I.e. We are as one.

All other tastes will appear insipid to him, who is taken up with the True Name.' ”

Then again the Rai asked, “Well Kalu, how is it ?” Then Lalu said to Kalu, “Brother, it is not your business to speak.” Then (his mother) Amman Bibi, pulling her sheet over her face, seized the Rai's feet, and said, “Rai, I have no other place of complaint but to you ; O Rai ! if you think it best, keep Nanak with you.” Then the Rai said, “O holy devotee ! your mother is very sorrowful ; I cannot however say anything to you.” Then Guru Nanak said, “Rai, whatever you have got to say, that say fearlessly.” Then the Rai said, “Do you remain here, and pursue agriculture ; I will give you some servants (to help you) and you shall have no land-tax to pay.” Then Guru Nanak spoke this verse in the Surath Rag ;

“The mind is the ploughman, one's deeds are the husbandry ; shame is the water, and the body is the field ;

The taking of God's Name is the seed, contentment is the drag for levelling, humility is the watchman ;

My faith is like the soil, necessary to make the seed grow, and those people,¹⁹³ who act thus, are very fortunate ;

O foolish man ! be not fascinated with the love of this world ;

This love for the world has fascinated the world ; a few only understand its (falseness).”

Then Lalu said, “Perhaps he wishes to keep a shop ; if so, let him set up a shop.” Then again, Guru Nanak recited this stanza—

“Make your passing life your shop, and make the True Name your merchandise ;

Make the reciting and the thinking of the Name of God your row of pots,¹⁹⁴ and put it in them ;

Traffic with the holy, take profit (from their advice), and be easy at heart.”

Then again Lalu said to the Rai, “O Rai ! if his mind is set on travelling, then let him traffic in horses.” Then again Guru Nanak recited a third stanza—

“Listen to the Sastras and make them your merchandise, and take about for sale the horses of Truth ;

Make good words your cash, and do not put this off till to-morrow ;

¹⁹³ Lit. “houses, families.”

¹⁹⁴ I.e. The vessels, in which merchandise is displayed, and which are arranged in rows.

Go to God's country (with your horses), for there you will get an abode of joy."

Then again Kalu said, "Take service with some one." Then again Guru Nanak recited the last stanza—

"Placing my mind on God is my service ; regarding His Name, my good works ;

Eschew evil deeds quickly, and then you will be praised.

O Nanak ! do you ever remember God's Name, and your joy will be increased four-fold."

Then again the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! do you command something, which we may agree to." Then Guru Nanak recited a verse in the Sarang Rag ;

"I will command something, which may God grant !

Let me join my hands (in supplication) to Him, over Whom none has any power ;

O Rai ! He is such a Master, that the obtaining the like of Him is not to be had ;

We should do those things, which are pleasing to Him ;

Wisdom and command avail nothing (before Him) ; let him, who wishes to prove this, try it.

Saikhs, Mashaiks, the holy, the saints, of all the fate is written (by God) ;

Ten incarnations have taken place, and they have ruled (in this world) ;

In the end, they all were laid in the dust, but obtained nothing,

Though they were very mighty men, warriors, and brave.

Nanak says, 'Do you behold them all, how they have become mixed with the dust ?'

Then again the Rai said, "O holy Saint ! do you become a distributor of food ; I will make over to you (the land round) three wells (for the expenses thereof) ; you shall have no taxes to pay, and you shall remain seated, feeding holy beggars." Then Guru Nanak recited this verse in the Asa Rag—

"There is but one kitchen, that of God, and there is none other ;

No other kitchen will last, or remain for ever in the world.

Pause

O Rai Bulhar ! listen to my request, I have a petition to make ;

There is one True Creator, who has formed all created things ;

He is the Pitiful and Bountiful, and He gives order to all things ;

He is wealthy enough to give to all, and He takes care of all ;

He has given us life, soul, body, wealth, pleasures and joys :

Of one's self, one can get nothing, all is decreed by God ;

The head of all is The One (God), and the holy and saints are but helpless creatures ;

Nanak says '(From Him), all beg, and God is He who gives to all.' "

Then the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! do whatever you wish." When some days passed, then Guru Nanak said, "O Bhai Bala and Mardana ! let us go from here." Then we said, "O Guru, your pleasure is law to us." In the year 1553, on the ninth of the dark half of the month Poh on a Thursday, Guru Nanak prepared to depart from Talwandi. Then the Rai received information, that Nanak, the devotee, was again about to depart, and Kalu and Lalu went weeping to the Rai. Then the Rai sent Umaidai to go and give his respects to Nanak, the devotee, and to say, "Sir, give me a sight of yourself." As Umaidai was the servant of the Rai, he went and said to Nanak, "O holy devotee ! The Rai begs and earnestly beseeches you to give a sight of yourself to him." Then, on hearing the words of Umaidai, Guru Nanak rose and got up, and came and blessed the Rai. Then the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! forgive my presumption." Then Guru Nanak said, "O Rai ! you are forgiven in God's Threshold." Then the Rai said, "O holy devotee ! do you do nothing, but remain seated here." Guru Nanak said, "O Rai ! it is not in my power to stop here ; wherever the Creator places me, there I must stop." Then the Rai began to make much entreaty, but Guru Nanak departed from there ; as the Rai saw he was not going to stop, he again said, "O holy devotee ! do you command me something." Now Guru Nanak said, "O Rai ! I have only one, who will listen to my command ; do you now give me your leave to go." Then the Rai said, "To please you is incumbent on me." Now Guru Nanak, when only the last watch of the night remained, and it was towards dawn, went forth to bathe ; as he began to look around, he found¹⁹⁵ no well at work ; then this speech issued from the mouth of the Guru ; "Alas ! there is no tank here either (for me to bathe in)." When the Rai heard of this speech, and the men-

¹⁹⁵ Lit.—"Behold ! what should he see."

tion of the tank issued from the mouth of the holy devotee, (he, the Rai said) "I am made happy, I will make a tank here, and call it after the name of the holy devotee." Then Guru Nanak and I, (Bala) and Mardana, the musician, also, we three Bhais again went to the house of Lalu ; then Bhai Lalu was greatly pleased and said, "Sons ! I am greatly pleased, in that you have shown yourselves to me."

CHAPTER XXX

THE DISCOURSE REGARDING (THE IDOL) SALIG RAM

Then the Sri Guru, after having wandered about, came to Ramtirth ; many people had come there for the bathing fair of the 14th of Chet. Then the Sri Guru saw that a Brahman, having bathed, was standing before an image of Salig Ram, and had made a mark of honour on its forehead, and was doing obeisance to it ; he had on a dhoti, and his hair was tied in a knot on his head ; and he had on his body the twelve marks¹⁹⁶, and was worshipping it (the idol,) and was making much ado before the people in his worship. When he began to turn his rosary, and, shutting his eyes, to reflect on the god, then the Sri Guru said, "O holy saint and deity ! thus shutting your eyes, of whom are you thinking ?" He said, "Sir, I am doing service to Salig Ram." He (Nanak) again said, "O saint, this image is placed right before you, but when you shut your eyes and reflect, of whom are you thinking ?" The Brahman said, "O holy devotee ! in my meditation, all three worlds¹⁹⁷ are seen by me." He (Nanak) asked, "Is everything, that is taking place in the three worlds, seen by you ?" Then the Brahman said, "Yes, Sir ! I see everything." When the Brahman uttered this, the Sri Guru said quietly to a Sikh, "Go and lift all the images of Salig Ram from before him." Then the Sikh quietly lifted all the images of Salig Ram from before him. When the Brahman opened his eyes, then he beheld that his god was not before him, and he began to weep. Then Nanak asked, "What is it, O holy saint and deity ? What is this that has happened ? Why are you weeping ?" He said, "Sir ! some one has taken my god from before me." (Nanak said) "Listen, saint ! when you were meditating, you saw all three worlds ; look and see where it is." Then the

¹⁹⁶ I.e. On the forehead, tips of both ears, on the temple above both ears, throat, on the arms below the elbow, on the wrists, on the breast, and on the back, below the nape of the neck.

¹⁹⁷ I.e. The world, the world above, and the world below.

Brahman told him his real true (state), and said, "Sir ! I, for the sake of my stomach, tell lies, and, using deception, thereby get a few morsels to eat ; O holy devotee ! by means of this image, I get my subsistence ; therefore, for the sake of Sri Gobind, make whoever has taken it restore it to me." When the Brahman became very much humble, and began to beseech imploringly, then the Sri Guru took compassion on him, and said to that Brahman, "O holy deity and saint ! do you leave off telling lies, and give up this habit of telling lies for the sake of getting a livelihood ; God will somehow give you food, therefore do not tell lies ; but meditate on the name of Ram with a pure heart." Then the Brahman said ; "If you will have compassion on me, then I will not tell lies ; but Sir, I cannot get my food without telling lies." Then the Sri Guru Nanak said, "O saint ! why do you tell lies ? You say that when you shut your eyes and meditate, the three worlds appear manifest to you ; but have you any information at all of the wealth and goods, which are buried behind your back, just where you are seated ?" Then the Brahman said, "Sir, how can I know it ?" Then the Sri Guru said, "O saint ! do you get up and dig the earth." Then the Brahman dug the earth, and beheld and found much wealth. Then the Brahman, on seeing the wealth, was much astonished, and came and fell in obeisance at the feet of the Sri Guru. Then the Sri Guru, laughing at him, spoke and gave utterance to this verse in the Dhanasri Rag ;

"It (the idol) has no power over death, or any power over time, nor has it any true power ;

The place (of faith) is destroyed by it, and the world is ruined by it, and people are by it made miserable.

In this Kali age, the name of Ram is the only good thing.

But you, who shut your eyes and hold your nose, do it to deceive the world."

The meaning of this is, that Baba Nanak said, "O saint ! this image of stone, which you worship, has no power over death, or to keep you from dying ; nor, if you do not worship it, to kill you. Is there any profit in worshipping it ? but, O saint, this, that you shut your eyes and hold your nose for the sake of deceiving the world, is a snare and delusion, and will, one day, seize your own throat ;¹⁹⁸ true salvation and pardon is that which is obtained from remembering the name of Ram ; and in this, the Kali age, the name of Ram is the one

¹⁹⁸ I.e., Will bring its own punishment on you.

good thing, therefore remember him. Listen, saint ! whatever holy man shall meditate on the name of Ram with pure heart, he will obtain salvation ; unless we remember the Name of God, all other service and worship, visiting the holy places on the Ganges, and pilgrimages, they are worthless acts, for they are only made to the temples themselves, and are all as wind. In the Kali age, whoever wishes for salvation must meditate on the True Guru with perfect heart, and he will then be saved. Listen, O holy saint and deity ! that which you worship is all falsehood and deceit ; leave it off." Then the Brahman again petitioned, "O great king ! This wealth, which you pointed out to me behind my back, did you put it there, or did you get any one else to put it there ? How did you know about it ? Tell me exactly about it." Then the Sri Guru said, "Listen, saint.

Verse

'You seize your nose with your hand, and see the three worlds !

But you cannot see anything that is behind you ; this is a wonderful thing.'

The meaning is, that the lord (Nanak) said, "O saint ! you said that when you shut your eyes and meditated, you saw the three worlds, but you had no information of this wealth, which was behind your back ? Why did you tell such lies ?" Then the Brahman said, "Sir ! if I had been truthful, then I would have seen it ; but I am false, and my deeds are also false ; therefore how could I see it ?" Then the Sri Guru said, "O saint ! everything is seen by true hearts, but nothing is seen by the false ; listen, O holy saint and deity ! all the wealth, there is in the world, is all buried in the earth ; no one has consumed it, nor has any one used it up to clothe himself ; the wealth of the four ages is all collected and buried in it. We eat food, we drink water and we wear clothes ; no one eats gold, nor does any one eat silver, nor does any one eat copper ; this custom is prevalent in the world, and is its regular usage ; listen, O holy saint and deity ! All who are the servants of God, they show kindness to others, and care not for wealth ; and their sight is like that of God, (they can see everything) they do not see like men ; true saints can see everything ; listen saint ! why do you tell a lie, and say, that when you shut your eyes, you see the three worlds, you cannot see the wealth, which is placed behind you ? those who are the true saints of God, they can see every thing.

CHAPTER XXXI

CONVERSATION ABOUT THE ARTI SOHILA¹⁹⁹

Now one day, the Sri Guru saw that the world had no information as to what things were being done in it, or that, at the Threshold of the Great God, there is consideration paid to the acts ones does, and that a register is kept of good and evil deeds in God's Threshold, and that for sin, punishment is allotted, and reward to virtue. (Then he said), "Bhai Bala ! the world is entirely engaged in sin." Then Sri Baba Nanak said, "O great God ! according as Thou hast given me understanding, so I speak ; beyond that is in Thy power." Then the Sri Guru, Baba Nanak, did obeisance, and, having done his obeisance, stood before the Creator, and began to recite this Arti song in the Dhanasri Rag.²⁰⁰

"The earth and sky are Thy plate ; and sun and moon are Thy lamps ; the circle of the stars are as Thy pearls.

Sandal is Thine incense ; the wind is Thy chauri ;²⁰¹ and all the forests are Thy flowers, O God !

O fear-removing God ! What sort of hymn shall I sing ? Thy hymn (what is it like ?)

The unending sounds of Heaven are Thy musical instruments ;

Thousand are Thine eyes, but yet Thou hast no eye ;

Thousand are thy forms, but yet Thou hast none ;

Thousand are Thy fine feet, but yet not one of Thy feet is devoid of fragrance.

Thousand, indeed, are Thy fragrances, and I am absorbed in Thy wonderful works ;

The splendour, that is in every thing, that splendour is Thine ! and from its beams, light is diffused to all.

By means of a Guru, Thy knowledge is obtained ; that is a proper hymn, which is pleasing to Thee.

¹⁹⁹ Arti is a ceremony performed in adoration of the gods, by moving burning lamps circularly round the head of the image, or before it, accompanied with boisterous music and ringing of bells.

Sohila is singing practised by exorcists in praise of the person exorcised.

²⁰⁰ The circumstances, under which this hymn was uttered, must be borne in mind, to a due understanding thereof. A priest had begun to perform Arti to his god, but as Nanak had none of the requisites necessary at such a ceremony, he therefore gave utterance to these verses.

²⁰¹ Or brush made of hair, or the tail feathers of the peafowl generally, to drive off flies with. It is considered a badge of honour. The plate, lamps, pearls, placed as offerings, &c., are all necessary requisites of the ceremony. These are all placed around at the time of performance.

My mind desires the dust of Thy lotus-like feet, O Hari !
and night and day, my heart thirsts for it, (Thy Name) ;
Give the water of compassion to Nanak, who is Thy
Sarang,²⁰² and grant that he may obtain a longing for
Thy Name."²⁰³

The meaning is : "The sky and the earth, these two orbs, are Thy plate, O Lord ! and the stars are the pearls in Thy plate ; and the sun and the moon are Thy light ; the scents of the earth are Thine incense, O Lord ! and the wind is Thy chauri, and all the forests of the earth are Thy flowers ; all living creatures in the world, that have mouth and eyes, the light, which is in those eyes, is Thy light, and, from Thy light only, do they obtain light ; and in all the innumerable forms (in the world) Thy form alone is present. Thousand are Thy pure feet, and all the heavenly musicians and deities meditate only on Thy honour ; and all the uncountable hosts of heavenly musicians, gods, men, saints, are all fascinated with Thy doings ; none can find the end of one single act of Thine, nor can any one praise Thee ; then how, Lord can I sing Thee a hymn ? O Most Mighty Lord ! the light, which is in all mankind, it is the (reflection of the) Face of Thee, the Great God ; and the light of Thee, the great God, is diffused in every

²⁰² This small bird, also called the pappiha, is said to have a hole in its head, through which it drinks and satisfies its thirst. It is commonly believed to cry very loudly for the rains to commence, as it remains thirsty for ten months in the year, and only obtains water, to alleviate its thirst, during the rains.

²⁰³ The following translation of these lines is given by Dr. Trumpp in his *Adi Granth*, page 19, but I think he has, in his translation, missed some of the principal points. It remains with the reader to decide which is best.

"The dish is made of the sky, the sun and moon are made the lamps, the orbs of stars are, so to say, the pearls.

The wind is incense-grinding, the wind swings the fly-brush, the whole blooming wood is the flame (of the lamps).

PAUSE

What an illumination is made ! In the region of existence (world) there is no (such) illumination (made) to thee. The kettle-drum sounds an unbeaten sound.

Thousands are thy eyes, and yet thou hast no eye ; thousands are thy forms and (yet) thou hast not one !

Thousands are thy pure feet, and (yet) not one foot is without odour ; thousands are thy odours, thus walkest thou, O enchanting one !

In all (creatures) is light, he is the light. From his light, light is made in all.

By the testimony of the Guru the light becomes manifest ; what is pleasing to him, that becomes an Arti (illumination).

My mind is longing after the nectar of the lotus of the foot of Hari, daily I am thirsting after it.

Give water of mercy to the deer Nanak, by which dwelling may be made in Thy name."

heart ; by Thy light, everything obtains light ; the lotus-like feet of Hari, they are the lotus flower, and the dust off them is my heart ; the dust of Thy feet, which is called 'Makrand,' for it my heart greatly longs. In the same way as the bumble-bee greatly longs for the lotus flower, so does my heart eagerly desire the lotus-like feet of the great Lord ; and day and night, this is my desire ; but what is that (desire) like ? In the same way, as the rainbird cries day and night for the clouds and rain, so my heart also, thirsting after the name of the Great Lord, cries out for Thee. O holy and Great Lord ! do Thou have compassion on me, and give me to drink the water of Thy name."

CHAPTER XXXII

THE DISCOURSE IN SANGLA WITH RAJA SIV NATH

Guru Nanak went to the land of Sangla Dip to the city of Raja Siv Nath, the king of that place ; Siv Nath had such power, that whoever asked for a son, to him he gave a son ; and if any one asked for rain, then he gave rain ; he was a worker of miracles, but when Guru Nanak went and seated himself there, then he lost his power of working miracles, and if any one asked any thing, they did not get it. Then the king was astonished, and said to his minister, "O Paras Ram ! what is this that has happened ? Has any one in my city committed some sin ?" Then Paras Ram replied, "O King ! no one has committed a sin, but a certain wandering devotee has arrived in your city, and he has two disciples with him, and this is what has taken place (in consequence)." The king said, "O Paras Ram, enquire about them." Then Paras Ram, having prepared some good food, took it and went and placed it before Guru Nanak. Then Guru Nanak said, "What is it, Bhai ?" Then the minister, Paras Ram, replied, "O holy saint ! this is some food, which the king Siv Nath has sent you." Then Guru Nanak uttered this verse in the Maru Rag ;

"The delicacies and dainties of this food are many, but its sweet taste is bitter poison.

Regard him only as good, on whom God shows His compassion."

Paras Ram took back the food, and went and said to the king, "O king ! he will not eat the food." Then the king said, "O Paras Ram, what thing is he a trafficker in ?"²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ I.e., What does he want?

Then Paras Ram said, "Sir ! I cannot tell, but if you shall order, then I will get some fairies, and take them to him." Then the king said, "O Paras Ram ! what you have said is just the thing." Then Paras Ram got some fairies, and brought them, and came and made them stand before him, (and asked) "What do you want ?" (Nanak replied) "Paras Ram, listen to my words." Then again Guru Nanak recited this stanza ;

"These are leaves²⁰⁵ filled with poison, but they have been placed in, and smeared with, sugar."

They have extremely lovely forms, but they ruin a man."²⁰⁶

Then again Paras Ram went to the king and said, "He will not take the fairies also." The king said, "Paras Ram, it is the cold season, take some fine clothes to him." Then Paras Ram took some fine clothes, and came and placed them before Guru Nanak. Then Guru Nanak recited a third stanza ;

"Bodily clothes are falsehood ; from seeing them, be not deceived,

For gold, silver, wealth and riches are the root of hell."

Then Paras Ram, the minister said, "Tell me your desire."

Then Guru Nanak recited a fourth stanza ;

"Carry on your rule, but (know) that your power of working miracles is a falsehood ;

Obeys the commands of God, and then patience will spring up in your heart."

Then Paras Ram went to the king and said, "O king ! he speaks of something quite different ; he ridicules your power of working miracles."

The king was intelligent²⁰⁷, and went himself to Guru Nanak and, joining his hands, stood before Guru Nanak. Then Guru Nanak recited the last stanza ;

"Listen, O Raja Siv Nath ! if your understanding and senses are right ;

Nanak says, "Remove the veil (of ignorance) from your

²⁰⁵ Nanak compares the beautiful women to leaves, and says that although they have been made to look sweet and are well clothed and of lovely form, their hearts were evil, as their purpose was to win a man's heart from the love of God, and thus to destroy his life.

²⁰⁶ Lit. "The birth of a man."

²⁰⁷ This is brought in, to show what the verse, recited by Nanak, refers to,

heart, and then you will become the servant of servants ! ' ' ²⁰⁸

Raja Siv Nath seized the feet of Guru Nanak, and began to say, "Sir ! do you bestow salvation on me." Then Guru Nanak was greatly pleased with the king. On hearing this circumstance, Guru Angad became overjoyed with ecstasy ; and Guru Angad remained in that same state for twenty-seven watches, and such ecstasy came over him, that no one can properly describe that state. After that, when Guru Angad opened his eyes and came to himself, then he said, "Speak on, Bhai Bala." Then Bala began to repeat more (as follows) for Angad to write.—Then Raja Siv Nath took Guru Nanak to his palace, and began to ask, "Sir ! what is your name ? are you a devotee ?" Then Guru Nanak recited this verse in the Maru Rag ;

"He is a Jogi, who is altogether joined to the spotless Name of God for then no speak (of evil) will cling to him. The Lord is his friend, and always remains with him ; he will escape from (all future), births and deaths ;

O God ! what is Thy name ? and what Thy caste ?

When the mind calls (God) inside its palace, it asks clear questions (from Him)."²⁰⁹

Pause

Then again the king asked, "Sir ! are you a Brahman ?" Guru Nanak replied with another stanza ;

"He is a Brahman, who meditates on the Supreme Being, and offers, (in place of flowers) praise to God ;

He has only one Name, He is the only one God, and in the three worlds He is the one Light."

Then again the Raja asked, "Sir ! are you a Khattri ?" Guru Nanak replied with a third stanza ;

"This heart is the scale, the tongue is the scale beam ; with them, unceasingly, weigh (utter) His name ;

The shops are all one, and over them there is one shop-keeper, and the traders are all of one kind ;

The true Guru saves one from both heads,²¹⁰ and he will understand this, who has the one hope (of God above) ; and in his heart, there will be no doubt ;

²⁰⁸ I.e. a devotee of God or a humble servant, who does service to all.

²⁰⁹ This is in reference to the king having called Nanak inside his palace, and asking him his name, &c.

²¹⁰ I.e. Being born and dying.

He, who deposits His songs (in his heart), will dispel all fears, and day and night always serve Him."

Again the Raja asked, "Sir ! are you a Gaurakh ?"²¹¹ Then the Guru Nanak responded with the stanza of completion ;

"Above are the heavens, and above the heavens is Gaurakh, and His unreachable form dwells there ;

From the words of the Guru, strangers and relatives²¹² appear all as one ; but Nanak is an Udasi (devotee)."

Then King Siv Nath became a disciple of Guru Nanak, and began to meditate on the Incorporeal One, and caused the people of his city also to meditate on Him. In that place, Guru Nanak composed the Paran Sangli and in it, he wrote one hundred and thirteen chapters. Guru Nanak remained with king Siv Nath for two years and five months. When he was about to depart, then the king said, "O Guru, do you remain here." Then Guru Nanak replied, "Bhai Siv Nath ! it is imperative for me to depart." The Raja did obeisance to him, and Guru Nanak said, "May God take care of you." (Before departing), he (Nanak) seated the king on the throne.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE DISCOURSE WITH MIAN MITTHA

Then proceeding on, he arrived at the village of Mian Mittha and alighted in his garden ; Mian Mittha was the disciple of Sahi Abdul Rahman. First of all, a meeting took place between the Sri Guru and Abdul Rahman. Sahi Abdul Rahman came and sat in the garden ; Mardana was already seated there, and they engaged in much conversation with each other. Then, Sahi Abdul Rahman said, "O Nanak ! to-day you have made me very happy, and you have shown great kindness to me, Sir ! you have given me a sight of yourself, and, from the sight of you, I have been much helped." Then, after this, Sahi Abdul Rahman returned to his house, and, as he was going along, met Mian Mittha, who was his disciple ; he began to say, "O Sahi, you, to-day, seem highly pleased." Then Sahi Abdul Rahman said : "I have to-day met with one of God's beloved ones, and, from seeing him, I have been very much pleased." Then Mian Mittha, said, "What is his name ? Is he a Hindu or a Musalman ? Sahi Abdul Rahman replied,

²¹¹ I.e. A god, from gau (earth) and rakh (preserver).

²¹² Lit. "Those of the house."

"He is a Hindu, and his name is Nanak, do you also go and get a sight of him; then you, also, will obtain profit (therefrom)." When Mian Mittha came to visit him, and that time Mardana was singing a verse in the Siri Rag; and this is what was being uttered by the mouth of Mardana;

"If I should become a bird, and should fly and go to a hundred heavens,

And, in flying, should let myself be seen by none, and should neither eat nor drink anything,

Still I could not find out Thy worth;

How far then shall I extol Thy name."

On hearing this, Mian Mittha suffered loss in his stock (of faith); he had gone for profit, but he suffered loss therein.

Then the saint asked, "Mian did you see him?" He replied, "O reverend saint, peace be on thee! how could I visit him? There they talk nothing but what is profane." Then the chief said, "Speak and let me hear what profane thing they were saying there." Then the Mian said, "They were there uttering this verse:

"If I should become a bird and should fly and go to a hundred heavens,

And, in flying, should be seen by none, and should neither eat nor drink anything,

Still, I could not find out Thy worth,

How far then shall I extol Thy name?"

Now listen O saint! in our reckoning, there are in all fourteen heavens; was it not great profanity, when he talked of a hundred heavens? Now, Sir, how can there be a hundred heavens, when there are but fourteen heavens in all, seven below and seven above?" Then the saint said, "You have made a mistake: Why? (because), although we have only information of fourteen heavens, still he knows of a hundred heavens; and therefore he says, 'Still I could not find out Thy worth, and how far then shall I extol Thy name?' Now do you come with me and I will have your fault forgiven." Then Sahi Abdul Rahman brought Mian Mittha to the Sri Guru, and came and fell at his feet; and making him fold his hands together, petitioned saying, "O Baba! forgive the fault of this man, for the sake of your love for God." Then the Sri Guru said, "O Sahi, I have not even seen this person." Then Sahi Abdul Rahman said, "O Baba! he went away disappointed in his intention; for the Lord's sake, forgive him his fault, for he is greatly in error." Then he (Nanak) said, "As his inten-

tion (was), so will be the accomplishment of his work ; for as one does, so one obtains." Then Sahi Abdul Rahman said, "Sir, he is still under a curse ; for God's sake forgive him his fault ; he is a great sinner, but he desires to come under your protection ; then cast your kind glance on him." Then he again fell at the feet of the Sri Guru Baba, on which he (Nanak) said : "O Mardāna, play the rebec." Then he recited this verse ;—

"If my years were uncountable, and I lived on wind and water ;

If I lived in a cave, where I could see neither sun nor moon, and I had not room to sleep even in my dreams,

Still I could not find out Thy worth, how far then shall I extol Thy name ?

The True God lives ever fixed in His Own place ;

I have heard His word and tell it (to others), but He can, if He will, show kindness.

Pause

Were I to continually give my body to be sawn in pieces, and were I to give it to be ground in the mill ; And were I to burn my body in the fire ; and were I to be turned into ashes ;

Still I could not find out Thy worth, how far then shall I extol Thy name ?

Were I to become a bird, and fly and go to a hundred heavens ;

And, in flying, should be seen by none, and should neither eat nor drink any thing,

Still, I could not find out Thy worth, how far then shall I extol Thy name ?

Nanak says, 'Had I thousands of maunds of paper, with Thy name written thereon, and were to read it all ; And if my ink should never come to an end, and I could go on writing like the wind,

Still I could not find out Thy worth, how far then shall I extol Thy name ?

The True God lives ever fixed in His own place.' ²¹³

But when this verse was finished, and the wrong impres-

²¹³ Dr. Trumpp in his *Adi Granth*, page 22, gives the following translation of these lines:—

(If my) life (be) crores, crores, if wind drinking (be my) nouriture.
If (dwelling) in a cave I do not see neither moon nor sun, (if) I have no place for dreaming (and) sleeping.

sions of Mian Mittha were still not effaced, then the Sri Guru made it plain to his mind. At length one day, Mian Mittha obtained light on the matter, and then he said, "Nanak is a good devotee, but if I shall see him again, I will squeeze him as the juice is squeezed out of a lime." Then the Sri Guru also said "O Mardana, what does Sekh Mittha say?" Then Mardana said, "He is thy musical instrument, and as you play on him, so he sounds." Then Nanak said, "O Mardana; if I shall see Mian Mittha, then I will press him as they press sugar-cane." Then Mian Mittha said, "Come and let us go and visit Nanak." Then his disciples petitioned, "Sir, you have before this commanded that, if you shall see Nanak again, then you will squeeze him, as the juice is squeezed out of a lemon." Then Mian Mittha also replied, "An answer also has come to me from there, viz., 'If I shall see Mian Mittha again, then I will press him out, as they press out sugar-cane.'" Then Mian Mittha came to visit him, and they met. First of all Mian Mittha recited this stanza;

"First (in honour) is the Name of God, then that of the prophet, His messenger;

If Nanak shall accept the Kalima, then he will be accepted at His Threshold."

Then the Sri Guru Baba Nanak said,

"O Mian, is there not place for any one else at His door? Surely all, who remain there, are treated alike."

Then again Sekh Mittha said,

"Can a lamp burn without oil?"

Yet Thy value is not found out (by me), how great shall I call Thy name?

Pause

True is the Formless in his own place.

Having heard, heard the word (one) tells it; if it pleases (to any), he longs for it.

(If) I be killed and cut (in pieces) repeatedly, if I be ground on the grinding stone.

(If) I be burned with fire, (if) I be reduced to ashes (mixed with ashes)

Yet Thy value is not found out (by me), how great shall I call Thy name?

(If) having become a bird I roam about and go to a hundred heavens.

(If) I do not come into the sight of any one, nor do drink and eat anything.

Yet Thy value is not found out (by me), how great shall I call Thy name?

O Nanak! if having read, read a paper consisting of a hundred thousand maunds consideration, (an idea of him) be made.

(If) the ink do not run short, (if) the wind move the pen.

Yet Thy value is not found out; how great shall I call Thy name?

Then the Sri Guru gave reply,
 "Study the Kuran and all books,
 And place the wick of the fear of God in this heart of
 yours,
 And then, without oil, your lamp will burn brightly ;
 Get this light, and then you will obtain your Lord.
 If His words take effect on this your heart.
 Then (you will look on) this world as transient ; ²¹⁴
 If you shall do Him service in this world,
 Then you will obtain an abode in His Threshold ;"
 Nanak says ; 'Such an one fearlessly²¹⁵ will go to Heaven
 and praise Him ;'
 Well, even if you have not anything, then offer what you
 can."

Then the Sekh petitioned, "Why should not those, who
 are literate, be accepted by God ? and where are that Kuran
 and those books, Sir, from studying which, one may become
 perfect ? and who are those devotees who are fit for that door?
 And what fast is that, from practising which, one's heart can
 be established ? And what prayers are those, by the offering
 of which, God will show himself, Sir ?" Then the Sri Guru
 said, "Mardana, play the rebec," and he recited these verses
 in the Maru Rag ;²¹⁶

"O ye servants of God! He is pure and beyond our
 reach ;

Forego the thoughts and business of the world ;
 Become the dust of the feet of beggars and travellers ;
 For such devotees are accepted at His door.

(1). Make truth, your prayer, and faith, your carpet for
 praying on ;

Subdue your desires, and give up your Asa ;²¹⁷

Look on the body as your mosque, and the mind as your
 priest ;

And take for your creed that God is pure and holy ;

(2). Do good, and make it your shara and shariat ;²¹⁸

Look on giving up the world and searching for God, as
 the true road (tarikat) ;

²¹⁴ Lit. "Coming and going."

²¹⁵ Lit. "Swinging about his arms."

²¹⁶ It must be borne in mind that, in the following verses, various
 Muhammadan technical religious terms are made use of, and Nanak
 explains what each really is.

²¹⁷ A stick on which the head is placed, when praying.

²¹⁸ Muhammadan Code of Law.

O Abdul ! look on conquering your heart as true knowledge, (marifat) ;

Then you will obtain the truth (hakikat), and you will never again die.

(3). Look upon the study of God with your heart as your Kuran and other books ;

And keep the ten (female) organs from wickedness ;

Control the five male (passions) by faith,

Then your alms and patience will be accepted.

(4). Let love to mankind be your Makka, and let your fasting be the humbling yourself in the dust ;

Let Heaven be your spiritual guide, and act according to its commands ;

Look on the service of God as your Huris, light, and perfumes, and make the pure God, your place (of shelter).

(5). Regard obtaining the truth as your judge, (Kaji) and purifying your heart as your pilgrim, (Haji) ;

Make leaving off evil deeds your priest (Mulla), and the praising of God your devotee (darvesh.)

(6). At all times, and at all seasons, remember your Creator in your heart, O Mulla !

Make your rosary of remembrance, the subduing of the ten female (organs) ;

Make humility your traditions (sunnat) ; this is your chief duty.

(7). Regard all these things in your heart as things of fact ;

And regard a family, O brother, as altogether a source of trouble ;

Saints, chiefs and nobles, all will vanish ;

One place only will remain, viz., the door of God.

(8). Let your first (or morning) prayer be His praise ; your second, patience ;

Your third, humility ; your fourth, alms ;

Your fifth, keeping the five (male organs) in one place ;

These will be all sufficient for you at the five times (of prayer.)

(9). Make, regarding God as all in all, your religious duty (madipha or wazifa) ;

And make the forsaking of your evil nature, the water pot for ablution (kuga) of your hands ;

Know that God is one, and make this your call to prayer ;

For (those, who so do), are truly great and happy.

(10). Make what is true and lawful, your food;
Wash away the infirmities of your heart in the river (of the name of God);

He, who obeys the True saint (God), he will dwell in paradise;

And he will have no fear of either Azrail or hell.

(11). (Remember) the Creator of your body, and regard faith as your wife;

Regard belief in God as your pleasure and joy;

Remove from yourself your impurities, and be pure, and regard this as your Hadis;

And make belief in the unchangeable Form, the turban (dastar) for your head.

(12). They are true Musalmans, who are gentle hearted,

And who wash away the impurities of their hearts;

And who do not approach the desires of the world.

Such are purer and cleaner than flowers, silk and ghi.

13. And those who profess the love of God, (they do so) from the kindness of His kind love;

And that man will be truly a brave man;

Be he a Sekh, Masaikh, or Kaji,

Or be he a servant of God, His eye is on them all.

(14). All power belongs to the All-powerful, and all things proceed from the All-bountiful;

His praise and love are boundless, and He is the All-compassionate;

Verily the true rule belongs to the True God;

Nanak says, 'Who understands this, he will obtain release and reach Heaven.'

Then, on hearing these verses, Mian Mittha said, "This one Name, that you praise so, what is that one Name?" Then the Sri Guru said, "O Mian, who is able to set forth the glory of the praise of that One Name?" Then Mian Mittha said, "Sir! be kind and explain." Then the Sri Guru, seizing Mian Mittha by the arm, took him aside. Then the Sri Guru said, "O Sir! O, Sir!" Then after his saying this, the second²¹⁹ Mian Mittha was turned into ashes, and Sekh Mittha beheld that it was turned into a handful of ashes. Then, again, a voice was heard, and it got up. On this, Sekh Mittha came and kissed his (Nanak's) feet. Then the Sri Guru, having passed into the house of oblivion, (i.e., trance), recited the following in the Tilang Rag;

²¹⁹ It is said that Nanak, by way of exhibiting his miraculous powers, produced an exact likeness of the Mian, and shewed it to him.

"Thy love is shown to those, who attend on Thee ;
And those who wait not on Thee, they remain without
Thy love ;
The faithful are Thy friends ;
The disbelieving are Thine enemies ;
Infidelity is a great sin ;
And anger is unlawful ;
Carnal desire is the devil ;
And pride is infidelity ;
The unbelieving is impure ;
And the gentle at heart is pure ;
Wisdom is gentleness ;
And those, who are without worldly desires, are saints ;
Those, who have not faith, are dishonoured ;
The ungrateful is made ashamed ;
Truth is Heaven ;
Falsehood is Hell ;
Violence is Tyranny ;
And His praise is true ablution ;
The calling to prayer is His voice ;
Theft is avarice ;
Whoredom is impurity ;
Patience is humility ;
And impatience is forbidden ;
Those, who are on the right road, have spiritual teachers -
And those, who are out of the road, are without a
spiritual teacher ;
The honest man is the friend of God ;
And the dishonest man is of no worth ;
The sword is for brave men,
And justice is for kings ;
He, who weighs these things and understands them,
Him, Him, Nanak will call wise."

Then Pir Mittha, on hearing this, came and seized his feet, and said, "Sir ! you are some saint of God ; before, I vainly wandered about erring ; do you forgive me." Then he was pleased with Mian Mittha, and all the doubts of Mian Mittha were removed.

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE DISCOURSE WITH THE SIDHS, OR HINDU SAINTS

Then the Sri Guru Nanak rose, and departed from there, and as he looked about, he saw many Sidhs seated on the road. The Sri Guru hailed them, saying, "My respects, O Sidhs !" Then Gorakh said, "Our respects to the first Being ! come O Nanak, thou devotee !" Then again Gorakh asked in a gentle tone, "What is the cover of this earth ? and what is the key of Heaven ? how many stars are there in the heavens ? In the Kali Age, how many gods are there, O man ? and in how many streams does the rain fall ?" The Guru replied, "The heavens²²⁰ are about four fingers breadth, and there are two circles of stars in the heavens ; in the Kali Age, the gods are very many, O man ! and the rain falls in nine streams." Then, again, the Sidhs called the angel of death, and he, death, read this verse ;

"I will kill thee standing ; I will kill thee sitting ; I will kill thee sleeping.

In the four ages, my great net has been spread, then, son, where will you remain ?"

Then the Sri Guru recited this stanza ;

"If I am awake in my love to God standing, awake, sitting, and awake, sleeping,

And remain apart from the four ages, then I shall be the son of my Father, (God), and shall be safe from you."

(Then death said) ;

"If I shall make all the earth into a cauldron and spread myself in all directions,

And if I shall turn the four ages into fuel, then where will your body be ?"

Then the Sri Guru Baba Nanak replied ;

"I will subdue my organs and be true of speech, and reach above the earth ;

I will become wider and higher than the heavens ;

My organs and tongue shall all be with the one God ;

Nanak says, 'By these means, I will escape from death.' "

Then death, being distressed, said, "Sir I am under your command." The Sri Guru then comforted death, (saying) ;

²²⁰ The heavens are compared by Nanak to the mouth, the two circles of stars to the eyes, the rain to the body, the nine streams being the two ears, two eyes, two nostrils, mouth, the organ of excretion and the member of generation.

Verses

"What matters it, if this body should not die,
Or if it should live in doubt for hundreds of years;
One's age may increase, but in the end, one's body must
fall into the hands of death;

When death comes, where will you go?
In the sea, earth and air, death and God have rule.
When death comes, whereto will you flee?
What world is it, to which you will go and flee?
The fourteen heavens are in the power of death,
Where then will you go and flee from death?
Ram and the Muhammadan Prophet both were subjected
to death.

O Nanak! death must be accepted by you.
It will of itself come, and will, of itself, carry you off.
When death comes, it will carry you off as it wishes;
If you reflect well, you will know that you must die.²²¹
Nanak says, 'Wherever you look, there it (death) is
standing.'

Then, on hearing this verse, death became satisfied, and, being comforted, took his departure. Then the Sidhs crossed the sea. Then these words were said (by Nanak), "O Mardana! let us cross the sea also." Then the Sri Guru also, having crossed the sea, paid his respects to the Sidhs. Then the Sidhs said, "Our respects to the first Being." Then the Sidhs said, "Knowest thou a city which has ten doors? O True Guru! meditate and tell us the truth of this; do you meditate on God and be happy and joyful; first lay yourself waste, then make yourself populous." Then the Sri Guru replied, "There is a city, (the body) which has ten doors. Speak O true Guru, for this is the true explanation of this; yes, do you meditate also and be happy, and joyful; first lay yourself waste, and then be populous." Then the Sidhs said, "O man! have you also taken (to yourself) a Guru?" Then the Sri Guru replied, "Do you recite some of your verses, and I will choose him as my Guru, from whose songs I obtain confidence." Then the Sidhs said, "We will recite some verses; do you listen and whosoever's verses give you confidence, make him your Guru." Then the Sri Guru said, "Sirs! recite some verses." First of all, Isur Nath said,

"He is a girhi²²² who has his members under control, and

²²¹ First conquer your evil passions, and then you will be blessed with Divine knowledge to interpret this.

²²² A kind of fakir—see glossary.

who performs adoration, devotion, abstinence and alms,
And who looks on his body as to be employed in charity
and doing good ;

Such a girhi is pure as the water of the Ganges ;

Ishur says that the True Form,

In the first element (God), has neither marks nor form."

The second, who spoke, was Gorakh ; he said,

"He is an awadhuti²²³ who purifies himself from evil
deeds,

And eats the food of alms and affliction,

And who begs at the doors of his own body, (by thinking
on the Name of God) ;

Such an awadhuti will ascend to the region of Shiv
(heaven).

Gorakh says, that the True Form,

In the first element (God), has neither marks nor form."

The third, who spoke was Gopi Chand ; he said,

"He is an Udasi,²²⁴ who remains really sad at heart,

And, who having withdrawn his thoughts from all, above
and below, lives only (with God),

And he, who can make his sun and moon²²⁵ one,

Of such an Udasi the body will never die.

Gopi Chand says, that the True Form,

In the first element (God), has neither marks nor form."

The fourth, who spoke (was) Charpat ; he said,

"He is a Pakhandi,²²⁶ who washes his body (in the Name
of God.)

And burns the heat of his body (anger) through the Name
of God,

And, in his sleep even, does not give way to his lusts ;

For such a Pakhandi, there is no getting old nor death.

Charpat says, that the True Form,

In the first element (God), has neither marks nor form."

Then the Sidhs said, "O boy, have you also made any
verses ?" Then the Sri Guru replied, "If you shall command,
then I also will recite some verses." Then the Sidhs said, "Do
you also recite some verses." Then the Sri Guru said,

"How shall the evil (in man) die, and how shall one
arrange one's life ?

²²³ A kind of devotee—see glossary.

²²⁴ A kind of devotee—see glossary.

²²⁵ By sun and moon, anger and patience are implied, as the sun is
regarded as hot, and the moon as cold.

²²⁶ A sect of fakirs—see glossary.

What (profit) does one get from piercing one's ears ?

One name only is True and Imperishable.

What other name is there, from which there remains any honour ?

If you wish to make sunshine and shade²²⁷ as one,

Then Nanak says, 'Take the Name of God.'

O sons ! although you practise the six kinds of devotion,

You will neither²²⁸ be a Sansari nor an Awadhut ;

Those who keep their thoughts on the Incorporeal One,

Why should they go about begging ?

Nanak says, that the True Form,

In the first element (God), has neither marks nor form."

Then the Sidhs said, "O boy ! you understood what we said, but we do not understand what you have said." Then

the Sri Guru Nanak said, "Each of you, Sidhs, has six faults, and Bharathri has nine faults." Then Bharathri was terrified and began to weep. On this, Machhandar Nath hit him on

the head with his deer skin, and said, "O Bharathri, why are you weeping ? He says that we also have each six faults."

The Sidhs said, "O boy ! what six faults have we ?" Then the Sri Guru replied,

"He, who looks on poison and nectar as one,

His words are accepted at God's Threshold ;

I tell you, O Sidhs ! you are Epicures, but are not doers of good ;

First, you go forth to get something to eat,

And, if you get food to eat, then are you grateful ?

Second, when thirst afflicts you, you go forth and get water ;

Third, when the cold touches you, you go forth and wish for sunshine ;

Fourth, when you are much vexed by the sun's rays, you go forth and wish for shade ;

Fifth, when sleep overtakes you, then you go forth and sleep ;

Sixth, you are much given to meditation ;

But you are Epicures, and are not lovers of God."

Then again the Sidhs asked, "O Nanak, what faults has Bharathri ?" Then this speech was uttered by Nanak, "Six of the faults, common to all, you have heard, and the other three are these ;

²²⁷ Anger and patience.

²²⁸ Enumerated by Nanak a little lower down.

First that, at night, he plays on a guitar ;
 Second that, in the day, he plays at chaupar,²²⁹ and
 makes useless meditation ;

Third, he drinks wine and he eats roast meats,
 And does not fix his thoughts on true meditation ;
 He, who is a true Nath,²³⁰ is free from all these things."

Then the Sidhs, having seated themselves on chariots
 made of their deer skins, took their departure and crossed
 the sea.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE DISCOURSE WITH THE WORSHIPPERS OF GOVIND

The Sri Guru Baba Nanak took his departure to Ajudhia, a country in the east, and there he met with some worshippers of Govind, who said, "O Baba, Ram, Ram." Then the Sri Guru Baba Nanak replied, "Satt Ram ! come, Sirs, and seat yourselves." Then, they, having made an obeisance, sat down. After having rested awhile, they said, "O Sri Guru ! We offer ourselves as a sacrifice to you, and we have one request to make of you." He replied, "Whatever you have in your mind, that say out." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "Sir ! some perform alms and charity ; some offer sacrifices and oblations ; some perform pilgrimages, and visit tombs on the banks of the river Ganges ; some perform devotion by standing in water ; others pay their homage seated in fire²³¹ ; and others give much pain to their bodies ; do these things obtain salvation, or do they not ?" Then the Sri Guru repeated this song in the Bhairon Rag ;

"Although one may make great feasts, offer sacrifices, do alms, devotion, and worship, suffer bodily pain, and continually endure hardship ;

Still none will obtain salvation, but by the Name of God ; they obtain salvation, who learn the Name of God from the mouth of His Guru ;

Without the Name of God, the being born into the world is useless ;

All else that one eats is poison ; all else that one says is poison.

²²⁹ A game played with long dice.

²³⁰ A term of respect among these fakirs.

²³¹ The fire is placed at the four corners of the place of worship, and the devotee sits in the midst.

O man ! without the Name of God, the being born and dying is altogether fruitless."

The meaning is, Baba Nanak said, "Man ! although one offer sacrifices, and make great feasts, and perform pilgrimages, and be a Jogi or Saniasi or a Brahmachari, and although one go naked, and have one's head sawed, although one wander all round the world, and although one show all worship and charity, and although one offer long prayers, and although one purify one's body, still unless one remembers the Name of God, he will never be saved. He will be saved when he obtains The True Guru, and, with purity of heart, remembers His name ; then will he obtain salvation. Men are born into this world that they should remember His Name, and if one remember His name, then one's life will be fruitful, otherwise one's life is wasted ; and, without the remembrance of the Name of the Great God, man lives on naught but poison, and he speaks nothing but poison ; and the only advantage, obtained from this (poison), evil speaking, is that man spends his time in wandering about. Listen, O brethren of God ! these things are indeed so." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "O Sri Guru ! we sacrifice ourselves to you ! again we ask, some read books, some study the Purans, some perform Sandhia at the three times, will these obtain salvation, or will they not ?" Then the Sri Guru Baba Nanak said,

"Although one read books, and study religion, and grammar, and although one do Sandhia at the three times ;

How, O man ! is salvation to be got, except through the instruction of the Guru ; without the Name of God, we must be captives in the world's snares, and die."

The meaning is, "Listen, O brothers of God ! if one should read the four Vedas, and study the six Sastras, and peruse the nine grammars, and perform Sandhia at the three times, and should read the eighteen Purans, still one cannot be saved ; one will be saved, when one obtains a true Guru, and, with purity of heart, remembers the Name of God ?" Then the worshippers of Govind again asked, "O Sri Guru ! we have one more request ; behold Sir ! some, foregoing their state of Grihast, become Atits, and go on pilgrimages ; will these obtain salvation, or will they not ?" The Baba replied,

"Should one have the devotee's rod and begging dish, wear a tuft of hair, keep a handkerchief on the shoulder, and wear a dhoti, and go on pilgrimage and make the circuit of temples,

Without the Name of God, patience will not be obtained, and those only, who meditate on the name of Hari, will be landed that side."

The meaning is "Listen, O brothers, worshippers of God ! although one may take the devotional staff and beggar's dish in one's hand, and wear the tuft of hair and handkerchief, and be clothed in a dhoti, and put the marks on one's forehead, and may leave one's home and go on pilgrimage, and may travel all round the world, still one cannot be saved thereby. Listen, O brothers, worshippers of God ! he will be saved, who obtains a true Guru, and, with purity of heart, remembers the Name of God." Again the worshippers of Govind enquired, "O Baba ! some let their hair grow very long in knots, some besmear themselves with ashes, others remain quite naked ; will these be saved, or will they not ?" The Sri Guru replied ;

"Though one wear long hair on one's head, and put ashes on one's body ; and go naked and without clothes,

Still, without the Name of God, patience will not be obtained, for such an one only begs for the sake of gratifying his wishes."

The meaning is, "Listen men, brothers of God ! from wearing long hair, what good is there ? and if one besmear oneself with ashes, what then ? and if one go naked, what has one done ? if one remain without garments, and do worship, what then ? As long as one does not obtain the true Guru, and, with purity of heart, does not remember the Name of God, so long one cannot be saved. What good is there in begging for the sake of fulfilling one's desires ? God is not obtained by becoming a beggar." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "We entirely sacrifice ourselves to thee ! will these be saved by any means or not ? and if these are to obtain union with the great God, how is it to be got ? please tell us this matter." Then Guru Nanak said,

"All the animals and insects of the water and earth and sky, wherever they be, in all art Thou (O God !) ;

O Guru, have mercy and do thou preserve me ; Nanak, having shaken well Thy nectar, wishes to drink of it."

Meaning "Listen, O men ! all the animals, which live in the waters and on the earth, the Holy name of God abides with the life of them all, and He lives with each animal ; and He, only, can take count of Himself, and as He lives with all animals, so He also takes care of them ; so also does He give salvation, but only by means of a Guru ; and without a Guru

none can be saved. O brothers ! worshippers of God ! in my path (of religion) this is laid down. He Himself only can take count of Himself." Then the worshippers of Govind got up, and fell at the feet of the Guru, and began to do silent adoration to the Guru. Then the worshippers of Govind said, "O Guru, we have come (to place ourselves) under thy protection." Then the Guru Baba Nanak said, "Do you always remember the Name of the great God ; and the true Guru will prosper you."

Afterwards, a discourse took place with some other worshippers of Govind, who said, "O Baba ! Ram, Ram ;" and the Sri Guru Baba Nanak replied, "Come Sirs ! Satt Ram ! and seat yourselves." Then they had rested awhile, then those worshippers of Govind said, "O Sri Guru, we have a question to ask ; if you will allow us, then we will ask it." Then (the Guru) said, "Ask whatever may come into your minds." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "O Guru : that maya, or worldly desire, which causes one to do evil and good, and wish for wealth, does it do so of itself, or does any one cause it so to do?" Then the Sri Guru recited this verse in the Bilawal Rag ;

"What one's heart says, that one does ;
From the mind, issue evil and good ;
The intoxication of worldly desire never is satisfied ;
One can only be satisfied and saved, when one's mind
loves the True One.

From beholding one's body, wealth and family, one
becomes proud ;

But, except the Name of God, nothing will go with us."

The meaning is, "No one says to this (maya), that it should do this evil, or that it should do that good, but, rising up, it acts after its own will. If the mind be imbued with the wine of worldly desire, it will never be satisfied therewith, and even if, in a way, one's worldly desire should be satisfied, then, day and night, after obtaining its desires, it (maya) cries, 'Alas ! Alas !' none has ever satisfied maya, nor has it made any one else satisfied ; but when the love of God arises in the heart, then only will one be saved. This salvation cannot be obtained except through the love of God ; when one obtains a sufficiency thereof (i.e. the love of God), then only is one saved ; except the great God, one has no other helper ; nothing ever came with us (into this world), and nothing will go with us ; and that, which will be the companion of

our soul, will be the Name of God." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "O Sri Guru ! all living creatures of the world long eagerly for maya, that, by some means, they may obtain it ; and the world says, 'If I obtain maya, then I will perform some good deeds and alms, but without maya, nothing can be effected.' " Then the Sri Guru said, "Listen, brothers ! followers of God :

"Those who indulge in the pleasures, desires and joys of their hearts,

Other people will take their wealth, and their bodies will be turned into ashes ;

Dust they are, and to dust will they return, and be spread abroad ;

And one's impurities cannot be removed, except through the Name of God."

The meaning of which is ; "Those who bear rule, they enjoy the pleasures of rule, and obtain joy from worldly desire (maya) ; they collect wealth and fill great treasures ; but neither the joys of wealth nor worldly desire will go with them, but their body will be turned into ashes, and their wealth others will take possession of ; then, of what use will the pleasures of maya and riches and family be to him ? His wealth, others will spend after him, and those sins, which he committed for the sake of riches, will then go along with him ; and those sins will afterwards seize him, and cast him into hell ; what use will wealth, and the pleasures of wealth, and his family be to him then ? and the pleasures of sin, of what avail will they be ? One has no friend but the Name of the Great God, and, except through His Name, one's impurities cannot be removed ; when one acquires (the joy of) His Name then one's impurities will depart, and then one will be saved." Again, those worshippers of Govind said, "O Sri Guru, when this soul undergoes transmigration, then how does it undergo transmigration ? and if one wish to avoid it, then how can one avoid it ?" Then the Sri Guru replied :—

"From listening to music and song, sounds and tunes, and the beating of castanets,

The three qualities²³² receive life in the body, and die and are removed from it ;

Duality is folly, and the pains (of it) cannot be removed.

Those only, who receive, through the Guru's mouth, the physic of His praises, will be saved."

²³² Rajo, love of rule ; tammo, covetousness ; sato, patience.

The meaning is, "When one undergoes transmigration, one undergoes it from one's own doings ; when one plays the tune and beats time, and plays the timbrel for the singer, then the dancer, on hearing the sound of the instrument, dances ; so also in transmigration, that which takes place, it thus takes place. The soul, making anger, avarice, pride, self-affection and lust, its musical instruments, undergoes transmigration on account of those three qualities. Men are continually being born and die, and the soul of man is removed from one man and goes to another, and if once he is separated from his soul, then to obtain it again is very difficult ; duality separates man from his soul ; it is folly, and is a sickness that attacks man, and the only physic for this disease is God's Name ; and when this body shall sing the praises of God, then it will be freed from transmigration." Then again those worshippers of Govind said, "O Guru ! some are called Vaisnus, some belong to the Jains, some are Tappassis, some are Brahmacharis, some are worshippers, some are Jogis and Sanniasis ; some are wise and virtuous ; now amongst these, who is the best ?" Then the Guru Baba replied :

"Though one wear a clean dhoti, and the marks of honor on the forehead, and a rosary round one's neck,

If anger be within, these marks are all those of jugglers

Such an one forgets God's Name, and drinks the wine of worldly desire,

And, except by the worshippers of God, joy cannot be obtained."

The meaning is, "Listen brothers, worshippers of Govind ! These are all forms of jugglery ; and as, when a juggler assumes various parts, still whatever he acts, he is still known, so also, this wearing of a dhoti, necklace, and marks of honour is a mimicry of Vaisno, resembling jugglery ; and if one allows anger, avarice, pride, selfish affection, and lust, continually to remain in one's heart, then what will result from this mimicry of Vaisno ? And unless one performs sincere worship to the True God, one is no worshipper." Then those worshippers of Govind said, "O Sri Guru, in this present Kali age, many people take Gurus to themselves, and, calling themselves Sikhs (disciples), adopt a Guru of their own ; but they do not walk after the teaching and fashion of the Guru, rather they turn away their faces from the Guru's teachings ; what will be their state ?" The Sri Guru replied,

"Listen brothers, followers of God ! They are pigs, dogs, donkeys,

Cats, fleas, vile, mean and base ;

They, who turn their faces from their Guru, will be transmigrated into such forms,

And be bound with fetters, when they undergo transmigration."

The meaning is, "Listen brothers, followers of God ! those who shall turn their faces from their Guru, they will return and will be transmigrated as pigs, and base creatures, and as crows and as fleas." Then again the worshippers of Govind enquired, "O Guru, such will indeed be the state of those who turn away from their Guru, but those who are sincere to their Guru, what reward will they obtain ?" The Sri Guru replied,

"From the service of the Guru, they obtain the best of things to be desired,

For, as they always carry in their hearts the Name of God, they will be pure,

And at the true Door of God, there will be no questioning them ;

And those who obey His commands, they will be accepted at His Door."

The meaning of which is that the Sri Guru said, "Listen brothers, followers of God ! they who serve their God, their living will be most profitable. The name of God is a precious stone, and our outmost desire, and it will fall into the hands of such souls as these, and those who do service to God, their hearts never remain oblivious of His Name ; and inasmuch as God's kindness has been shown on them, no questions will be put to them at the True Threshold, as to who they are, and where they may be going, and such Sikhs will be received into the True Threshold with much rejoicing ; and their souls will afterwards obtain praise in the true reckoning house. Listen brothers, followers of Ram ! they will be fully accepted at that Threshold, who obey the commands of their God."

Again, the worshippers of Govind enquired, "O Sri Guru ! if one wish to know the True God, then now can one know Him ?" The Guru Baba replied ;

"He will obtain the True Guru and know Him,

Who is constant in His service, and obey His commands ;

And if one obey His commands, then one will dwell in the True Threshold ;

And death and second death will, through His power, all be destroyed."

The meaning of which is that the teacher said, "Listen brothers, followers of Ram ! one will then know the True God, when one obtains the True Guru, and one looks on pain and pleasure as one ; then, one will be fully blessed in the True Place (Heaven) and one will go and dwell in the True Threshold ; and, by singing the praises of God, he will be delivered from transmigration." Then again, those worshippers of Govind enquired, "O Sri Guru ! those who are girhasts, if they wish to serve God in that state of girhast, then how can they do so ?" Then the Sri Guru replied, "Listen brothers, followers of Ram !

He must be an Atit and must regard all as (done) for Him ;

He must give his body and soul to Him, Whose they are ;

Then he will not undergo transmigration !

Nanak speaks truly, 'He will be absorbed in the Truth.' "

The meaning is that the teachers said, "Listen brothers, worshippers of Ram ! one should live in this state of girhast in the same way as an idle Atit lives in any city ; for, the first day that he comes there, he knows that he has nothing in that city, and that one thing only is his, viz., God, and the families and people of that place are strangers to him, and that, in that city, he is also a stranger, and that he has no hopes except from the one Great God, and that his hopes must all be fixed on that Great God ; and if any one shall give him a morsel to eat, for God's sake, then he eats, otherwise he would rather die ; and if, in the same way as that stranger Atit knows, perfectly resigning himself (to God's Will,) that he has nothing in that city, and that the Great God only is his all, we also know ourselves (to be strangers), then we shall be true worshippers in that girhast state ; and when we thus know ourselves, then we shall have nothing, except God, and give up our minds, bodies, wealth, and every thing for God's sake, then shall we no longer undergo transmigration, but shall be released from that state." Then the worshippers of Govind got up and commenced to fall at his feet, and said, "Praised be thou, O holy Sir ! Take us under your feet, and give us instruction, holy Sir !" Then (Nanak) said, "Do you give up yourselves entirely to remembering the Name of God, and

then the Great God will bless you." Afterwards the Sri Guru recited this verse ;

"The true man lives in the True Threshold of the True God.

Nanak, the servant (of God) says, 'When one obtains the True Guru, one will be relieved from undergoing transmigration.'

Then they all became the disciples of the Baba.

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE DISCOURSE WITH THE DEMON KAUNDA

Having seated the Raja²³³ on the throne, he departed to Asarap Nahi, where was the house of Jhanda the carpenter, on an island in the sea. At that time, Mardana fell into a sulky mood; but Guru Nanak wanted him much to accompany him (on the rebecc). Mardana said, "I will not now go on further, give me leave to depart." Then the Guru Nanak replied "O Mardana! there are many demons before you on the road, do you come along with me." But Mardana remained firm in his refusal (to go on). Then Guru Nanak said to me, "Bhai Bala! do you speak to him, for my speaking is of no use." Then, I (Bala) said to Mardana, "O Mardana! the Guru Nanak is an incarnation of God; do you understand this?" But, as a demon had seized him, Mardana would not listen to anything, although we spoke much to him, and left the Guru Nanak. When Mardana had gone, then, afterwards, the Guru asked me, "Bhai Bala! what shall we do?" Then I said to the Guru Nanak, "Come, Sir, and do whatever pleases you." Then Guru Nanak went and stayed in a forest, and would not go on. When two watches had passed, then Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala, a demon has seized Mardana, and is frying him in a frypan." Then I said to the Sri Guru, "Sir! let him fry him, let him eat him, for he would not listen to what you said; what can we do? Can anything said by you turn out wrong? Did you not warn him that there were demons (on the road before him), but he was determined to fall into (the hands of) those demons?" Then Guru Nanak rose and got up and said, "Bhai Bala! I cannot but feel shame, as I brought him with me, and he was of great use to me." Then, again, I asked the Guru, "Sir! how far

²³³ Raja Siv Nath, as related at the end of a previous discourse.

off is he?" Guru Nanak replied, "Bhai Bala, he is nine koss,²³⁴ from here." Then I said, "Sir! he will have eaten him up, before we can get there." Then Guru Nanak seized my hand, and although the twinkling of an eye is not much, even that did not elapse, before we had gone from this spot to that; (on arrival), Guru Nanak laughed (at Mardana), and, laughing, said, "What is it, Mardana?" Mardana was ashamed. Then Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala! this frying-pan, which is being heated, is being heated to fry Mardana in, but come, let us hide ourselves, (and see the fun)." Then I said to the Guru Nanak, "Sir! then our coming will be of no more use than if we had not come; if the demon shall fry and eat him, then what profit will we get? If you are going to do anything, do it." Then again the Sri Guru replied, "Just (wait and) behold, Bhai Bala! the wonders and performances of the Creator, and see what the Creator will do." At that time, Mardana was standing up; then the demon seized him and threw him angrily into the frying-pan; the frying-pan became as cold as the frost in the month of Poh (December.) The demon was quite astonished when the fire underneath went out. Then Guru Nanak presented and showed himself, and the demon said, "O! who are you? speak truly, for when you came, my frying-pan became quite cold and chilled; speak truly, who are you?" Then Guru Nanak, laughing, said, "O demon Kaunda! eat away; why do you not eat him? why have you left off?" Then the demon said, "How do you know my name? and whence have you sprung? speak truly!" Then Guru Nanak recited this song in the Maru Rag;

"The egg of doubt was broken, and my mind was illuminated (with the knowledge of God) ;

The fetters were removed from my feet, and the Guru unfastened my hands;

O Sir! I have become free from future birth and death;

Your heated frying-pan was cooled, because my Guru has taught me the Name of God, and I have obtained coolness (patience);

Pause

From the time that I entered the society of the holy, since then the Angel of Death has no power over me; As He (God), who bound me, gave me release, then what can the Police Officer, (you Kaunda), say?

²³⁴ A koss varies from one to two miles.

I have left behind the load of evil actions, and they have no power over me;

I have reached the opposite shore of the Ocean,²³⁵ and God has blessed me greatly;

My home is truth, my resting-place is truth, and I am adorned with truth;

My wealth is truth, my merchandize is truth, and I (Nanak) have obtained these things."

Then the demon Kaunda fell at the feet of Guru Nanak and could not get up, and said, "Sir! I have committed very great sins; do you ask forgiveness for me, and have me forgiven by some means or other?" Then Guru Nanak said, "O demon Kaunda! Mardana the Mirasi, is your Guru; if you will listen to what he shall say, you will be saved." The demon Kaunda replied, "Sir, I will accept any one whom you name." Then Guru Nanak laughed and said, "How is it, Bhai Bala?" Then I, (Bala) joined my hands before the Guru, and said. "It is all your kindness, and you know best what to do." Then Guru Nanak said to Kaunda, "Say, Bhai Kaunda, whatever you have to say." Then Kaunda said, "O Guru ! if you give me the order, then I will buy some food, and if you shall eat, (it), then my joy will be fulfilled." Then Guru Nanak said, "Kaunda! bring something for Mardana to eat; Mardana has eaten nothing for many days." The demon Kaunda set off to the forest and went and brought such lovely fruits, that we all three were pleased, and when he had brought them, he placed them before the Guru. Then Guru Nanak said, "Come, Bhai Mardana, and eat." Mardana said, "I have eaten all (I want); do you show me kindness; (I regret that) I did not listen to your commands." Then Guru Nanak said, "O Mardana! I am greatly pleased with you; do you make me happy and eat the fruit." Then Mardana said, "O Sir! give me whatever may be my share." Then Guru Nanak said, "O Bhai Bala, divide it into three portions." I (Bala) divide it into three shares, and gave one to Mardana, and took one myself, and I gave one to the Guru. Then (Nanak), said to us, "Bhai Bala and Mardana ! eat the food; and then we began to eat; but Guru Nanak gave the share, which was before himself, to the demon Kaunda. Kaunda made no objection whatever, but immediately put it to his mouth. Immediately, on the food touching his mouth, Kaunda's brain obtained the light (of the knowledge

²³⁵ I have left the world.

of God), and Kaunda's form also became changed. When I and Mardana looked on him, we saw that he had obtained victory at once, (without any labour). Then Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala! behold the wonders and performances of the Creator." After this I asked the Guru: "Why are we so greatly astonished?" Then Guru Nanak said, "Bhai Bala, the Creator, in that he brought us into this world, brought us for this very purpose, that we should always watch the Creator's wonderful acts and doings." Then, I, (Bala) said "O Guru, yes, Sir! whatever God brings forth, that we behold." Guru Nanak remained for seven days with the demon Kaunda. On the seventh day, on his departure, having seated Kaunda on the throne, he wished him farewell.

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE DISCOURSE WITH SULTAN HAMID KARUN

Then the Sri Guru said, "Bhai Bala, come on and let us also show Sultan Hamid Karun road (of religion), for he is a great tyrant." Then we went there and presented ourselves. Sultan Hamid Karun was the king of Rum. There was a great Karun, who lived formerly in the time of the great Moses, the prophet; and that Karun and Harun were brothers. Now this Sultan Hamid Karun was a great tyrant, and had devastated all the country of Rum to its utmost bounds. Then (Nanak) said "Bhai Bala and Mardana, let us move on, and let us visit this king." I (Bala) said, "Sir, may it be well! perhaps, from your visit, his state may be bettered; otherwise he will be destroyed, just as the first Karun was." Then the Sri Guru and Mardana and I, (Bala) we all three went and presented ourselves at the court of Sultan Hamid Karun. Now the former Karun, having robbed the whole country of Rum, had collected forty storehouses of treasure, but this Hamid Karun had amassed forty-five storehouses of treasure. The Sri Guru and Mardana began to enquire where the court of the king was. The door-keepers replied, "This is it, Sirs; and he has collected forty-five storehouses of treasure." Then the Sri Guru enquired, "Does he administer justice, and does he give any thing in alms?" Those door-keepers replied, "Sirs! he is a very great tyrannical king, and, along with this, is a great miser, and gives nothing in alms; he is even a greater tyrant than the first Karun." Then the

Sri Guru said, "O, door-keeper! how has he collected all this wealth?" The door-keeper replied, "Sir! he is such a tyrant that wherever, in his kingdom, he hears of there being any silver or gold coin, he never lets it go, whether it belong to rich or poor. One day, this Hamid Karun said to his minister, 'Is there any silver still left anywhere?' The minister replied, 'There is none left anywhere.' Then the minister said, 'One of the king's servant girls is very pretty.' Then the king said to him, 'Take and seat her in the Kaihba Khana Bazaar, and if any one will give one rupee for her, let him have her.' There was a certain son of a merchant who (heard this, and) went and told his mother that the king was selling his slave girl, and that if she would give him one rupee, then he would be able to purchase her. His mother replied, 'O son! where are there any rupees left in the kingdom of Sultan Hamid Karun? I know but of one rupee, which is buried in the mouth of your father.' The merchant's son went and opened his father's grave, and took the rupee and went to the Kaihba Khana and bought the slave-girl for one rupee. Then the foot soldier, who was in charge, said (to the minister), 'Here is a rupee, Sir.' Then the king inquired, 'Who bought her?' He replied, 'Sir! a merchant's son bought her.' Then the king said, 'Seize and bring him?' Then they went and seized and brought the merchant's son. The king said, 'Sir, where did you get this rupee from?' The merchant's son replied, 'Sir, this one rupee was placed in my father's mouth, and buried with him in his grave.' Then the king gave orders, that wherever in his kingdom there were any graves, they were all to be opened and looked into (for any money).' On this, agreeably to the king's command, all the graves were opened, but no money was found in any of them. He is a very tyrannical king." Then Nanak said. "He is great sinner; he will receive a very severe punishment at God's Threshold. Curses be on his accumulations; woe! that he should live! Then earth was pleased (to swallow up) the former Karun, but no place would ever agree (to swallow up) this one." Then again he said to the door-keepers: "Do you go and give this message from me to Sultan Karun, and say that a devotee is standing at his gate, and requests an interview." Then the door-keepers went and gave this message, and said, "Sir! O great king! a devotee has come to your gate, and says, 'Give me an interview.'" The king, on hearing this, came out; at that time the Sri Guru was collecting little pieces of tile. The king came

and greeted him and said, "O holy devotee! what will you do with these pieces of tile?" Then Nanak said, "I will take these pieces of tile to the Threshold of God." Again, the king said "Sir! you will not be able to take these pieces of tile there with you, for, when you die, they will remain here." Then (Nanak) said "O Sultan Hamid Karun! then neither will those forty-five storehouses of treasures, which you have collected by tyranny, go with you. Listen now; there was a greater Karun than you, who accumulated forty storehouses of treasure by tyranny, but he did not take them with him; then why have you collected all these stores?" Then Sultan Hamid Karun replied, "Sir, cannot this treasure be taken along with me by some means?" Then Nanak said, "O king Hamid Karun! this wealth will only go along with you, if you shall spend it in alms in God's Name, otherwise it will remain here, and another will become the inheritor of this treasure; he will first seize on all your wealth and your country, and will afterwards arrange for your grave and coffin. Behold, there was a greater Karun than yourself; he collected forty storehouses of treasure through tyranny; and those storehouses were so great, that one end reached to the foundations of the earth: when his treasures and armies increased, then he became very proud at the sight of his army and wealth; he regarded neither the Lord, nor did he take heed to any one else, and began to proclaim himself as a Lord and God; he began to greatly torment the poor people, and to perpetrate such tyrannies, that, one day, a voice came from the Threshold of God to the great Moses, 'O Moses, thou prophet! go and admonish Karun, and say, 'O Karun, do you give away a tenth part of these forty storehouses, and, distribute them as alms in God's Name.' Karun did not obey the order, and, three times, the admonition was repeated through Moses, saying, 'O Karun! do you give a little at all events as alms in God's Name;' but Karun would not obey this command either, for Karun had become very proud, for, from seeing his vast wealth and army, he paid no heed to anyone; and three times he turned from the command of God. Then Moses petitioned at God's Threshold, saying, 'O Almighty God! I have four times commanded him in Thy name, but he will not obey.' Then the earth was ordered, from God's Threshold, to go, and seize Karun, the disobeyer, by his feet,²³⁶ and swallow him up with all his treasure. Then the earth seized Karun, as he was asleep on

²³⁶ i.e. Drag him down.

his bed, just as he was, by his feet, and swallowed him up with his treasures. Thus that Karun was destroyed and has departed till the judgment day. O Karun Hamid! the earth swallowed him up, because he was a great tyrant and a miser; and that Karun had another brother, called Harun, who obeyed the command of God, and belonged to the sect of Moses; and Moses afterwards, on his becoming firm in his belief, bestowed on him the title of prophet. You belong to the religion of Muhammad, the chosen, and yet you show much tyranny on the country, and devastate it too, wherever you can find the trace of a single pice even. Do you turn from this your tyranny, otherwise know that the treasure obtained by your tyranny will not go with you; do you henceforth turn from this tyranny." Then Karun Hamid replied; "This my mind was drowned in worldly desires; what is past is past; but do you put me on the right way for the future, Sir! and give me such advice that, from hearing it, my heart may be softened, and I may be a true (walker) on God's road." Then the Sri Baba recited this code of advice for Sultan Karun in the Rag Tilang :

1st Muhala (or Guru)

"If God give thee the power, then do that which shall
give thee a good name ;
Whatever you see in the earth will all vanish ;
Wealth will not last, although one have countless (riches) ;
Those, who possess millions, will not remain, nor will
those, who have thousands, remain ;
Wealth is one's to spend and to use ;
If one gives and distributes, then he will please God ;
If he have it (wealth), let him not store it, or spend it on
himself only ;
And do you know for certain in your heart, that one,
who so acts, will go to Heaven ;
Show humility before God, and manifest not pride,
For neither will this earth endure, nor will its transactions
last ;
If one have thousands of elephants and horses and
soldiers,
They will all be turned into dust, and they will last no
time ;
Those, who are taken up with worldly occupations say,
'This country is mine ;'

But when death overtakes them, they say, 'It is neither,
thine nor mine.'
See how many have passed away in spite of all their glory
and pomp;
But One only will remain, the one True God;
Alone we came into this world, and alone we will depart
(from it);
And, at the time of our departure, none of these things
will come of use;
When you shall be asked for your account, then what
answer will you give?
You will cry, 'Alas! alas!' and you will be assigned
punishment;
(When) you exercise tyranny and violence on the earth,
You but create an uproar against your own soul;
If you accumulate wealth and spend it (vainly),
And spend it on your dress and waste it foolishly,
In the end you will regret and say 'Alas! alas!'
And when you go to God's Threshold, you will receive a
heavy punishment;
Curses will be heaped on you and on your riches,
If through treachery, you have devastated and spoiled
the world;
Those, who drink wine and eat roast meats,
Behold! O people! are they who will be ruined;
He, Whose servant you are, He has given you all,
But, from avarice for the world, you have forgotten your
Lord;
You have not done Him service, nor have you kept your
faith;
And the world cries out that you have not ruled
(it justly);
You remain seated in your palace;
You sport with your wives and perfume yourself with
scents;
You neither ask nor know what is taking place outside;
And whether the lawless are killing your poor subjects.
You depopulate populated palaces, and do not re-populate
them;
And, although people cry out, none can obtain justice;
You collect your uncountable riches by millions and
billions,
Whilst your poor subjects die by thousands;
They call you the ruler, but you do not rule justly;

You are mad with the world, and wander about drunk
with it ;

You rob the country, and clothe and feed yourself ;

But the fire of hell will kill and burn you up ;

Do not look on with pride, O thou mad one of the world !

This (world) will not last for ever ; so do not think so.

It will not be long before you will travel from this world ;

And whose then will be your wealth, and whose your
family ?

After a few days you must depart, therefore listen to some
advice (from me) ;

Do not long greatly for the world, thou lover of the
world ;

But take care that you be not ashamed (hereafter) and,
with this object (in view), make yourself a good
name ;

Beware lest you depart, wearing the garment of curses
(of your people) ;

If you shall be negligent, then you will be destroyed ;

And neither sons nor daughters will be of help ;

Repent and be not now so tyrannical,

Otherwise, even in the grave, the fire of hell will consume
you ;

There have been Masaikhs, prophets, kings, and lords,

But not a trace of them is now to be seen in the world ;

Some have walked under the shadow of pigeons and
other animals²³⁷ ;

But all of them have been turned into dust, and none
now ask after their names even ;

One accumulated forty store houses, but lost his faith ;

Behold, O Karun ! how he was destroyed ;

Do you not know that this is a transitory abode ;

Behold with your own eyes and see ; this world is ever
moving on ;

O servant ! do you never forget your service ;

And do not lose (your life) in playing, and drunkenness,
and negligence ;

You have not yet repented, although you have committed
many sins ;

Nanak does obeisance to thee and says ;

' May God deliver you from such a state. ' "

²³⁷ The meaning of this is, that they had such power over birds and other animals, that they obeyed their commands, and spread a shadow over them.

When the Sri Guru had finished this code of advice, then Sultan Hamid remained astonished, and, becoming softened in heart, said, "Sir ! I have been entirely drowned in the (cares of the) world ; what will be my state at the Threshold of the Lord ?" (Nanak) said, "Repent, repent for God's sake." He said, "O Sri Baba ! from hearing your advice, I have been greatly terrified ; what will be my state ?" Then Nanak said, "O Sultan Hamid Karun ! The love of God does not lie in words ; and God is not pleased with words only ; so long as you do not become sincere in your service to God, so long your escape will be very difficult ; and know this, that the friendship of the world will be of no use to you. The world is a friend for the sake of eating and drinking only ; as long as it can get something to eat, so long will it be your friend, and whenever it can not get (anything) to eat, then it will turn into your enemy ; such is the conduct of the world ; be they your own family, or be they strangers, all are friends for pleasure's sake only but none are friends in trouble ; and, for this reason, the world's friendship profits one nothing ; the friendship of God is far better than the friendship of the world." Then Sultan Hamid said, "I cannot get man's friendship even, then how shall I acquire the friendship of God ?" Then the Sri Guru Baba recited these verses in the Rag Tilang ;

1st Muhala (or Guru)

"O friends ! the friendship of God is such a friendship
that you must love Him (above all),
And obey the commands of your Lord, and act according
to His word.

Pause

One can only know what is the friendship (of God), when
one learns it at the foot of the Guru,
And, humbling one's self, falls prostrate at the door of
one's Lord ;
His friendship will not be difficult to (obtain), if we
humble ourselves before Him.
Nanak says, 'He, who has not understood His com-
mands, has spent his life uselessly.'

When the Sri Guru Baba had recited this verse, then the king came and fell at his feet, and said, "Sir ! as you shall command, so verily will I act." Then Nanak said, "Release

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

all the prisoners in your kingdom, and, whatever things of theirs you have taken, return them to them ; then you will obtain prosperity in both worlds. In future, show compassion on the poor, and then you will obtain intelligence of the road of God." Sultan Hamid Karun said, "Very well, Sir ! I will do so from love for you." He then released all the prisoners in his kingdom, and returned them their belongings ; and, after that, he never oppressed any poor man. Sultan Hamid then began to do service to God, and established houses for feeding the poor in all his provinces, and, as far as the kingdom of Rum extended, all dwelt happily, on account of the Sri Guru's (advice). The king said, "Now, through your means, I have hopes of obtaining God." And the king became his disciple. Then again, the Guru said, "O Sultan Hamid ! those who have applied themselves to God's (work) and to do His service, God orders all their affairs well, and God's love is shown on them." Then Sultan Hamid Karun said, "Sir ! I have obtained God through your kindness." Again (Nanak) said, "O Sultan Hamid Karun ! God's love has been very quickly manifested on you, otherwise you would have been destroyed like the great Karun ! but you have quickly learnt Him, and have turned to God." Then again Sultan Hamid said, "Sir ! I have found him through your kindness." Then the king made him seven obeisances, on which (Nanak) said, "May God prosper you ! now I am going to depart." Then Sultan Hamid said, "Sir ! when shall I see you again" ? Nanak said, "You can keep me ever in sight in your heart," and then the Sri Guru departed thence.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE DISCOURSE WITH PANDAT CHATTARDAS, BANARSI

Then the Sri Guru continued his wanderings, and came and sat in the market place of Banaras. There was a Pandat of Banaras, by name Chattardas, who had come there to bathe ; on seeing the garb of the Sri Guru, he sat down and said, "O worshipper, you have no Salig Ram with you ; and you have not the mark of Gopi Chandan, and you have not the necklace of basil ; are you an Atit or a Bhagat ? To what religion do you belong ?" Then the Sri Guru said, "Mardana, sound the rebec." Then Mardana sounded the rebec, and Nanak recited this stanza in the Basant Rag ;

1st Muhala (or Guru)

"O Brahman ! do worship to (God, for He is) Salig Ram,
and make good deeds your basil necklace ;
Fasten the chain of repetition of the Name of God on
your self, and say, 'O, compassionate One ! show
me compassion.'

Why do you irrigate barren soil, and waste your life ?
A mud wall will fall, why put plaster on it ?"

The Pandat said, "O worshipper ! do you call these
things irrigating barren soil ? (then say) what are those things
which you call watering good soil ? and by which one may
obtain the great God." Then the Guru recited the second
stanza :

"Make these two, lust and anger, your hoe ; and with
them dig the earth (of your body) O brother !

The more you dig it, the more joy you will obtain, for
this will never be useless labour."

Again the Pandat enquired, "O worshipper ! how will
the soul bring forth without being irrigated ? and how can the
gardener know that it (the joy of having God) is his own ?"
Then the Sri Guru recited the third stanza :

"Make your hand, your Persian wheel, the string of your
rosary, the buckets and rope, and yoke your mind
thereto ;

Irrigate your body with the water of immortality, and fill
its beds, and then it will become the true gardener's
(God's).

Then the Pandat said, "You are a very holy man, Sir !
My understanding is impure ; it is in love, like a bagala,²³⁸
with its carnal desires." Then again the Guru recited the
fourth stanza ;

"A bagala can be changed into a goose if Thou wilt it,
O compassionate One !

Nanak, the servant of servants, seeks Thy protection ; do
Thou show pity on him, O Thou merciful One !"

Then again the Pandat said, "You are a worshipper of
the great God, Sir ! therefore bestow some of (your) purity
on this place, and take some benefit²³⁹ from it, Sir !" Then

²³⁸ The bagala is said to stand on one leg, so as to be ready to put
down the other at once to catch a fish. What is here meant is, that as
the bagala is ever on the look out for fish, so was he ever on the watch
to gratify his passions.

²³⁹ i.e. "Learn some Sanskrit," as Banaras is renowned as a great
place for learning Sanskrit and acquiring knowledge.

(Nanak) said, "What benefits has it?" Then the Pandat replied, "The benefit to be derived here is the obtaining of learning; and from reading here, one is much blessed; and, after that, wherever you shall sit, there the world will respect you, and from studying (Sanskrit) here, you will become a chief of devotees." Then the Sri Guru Baba recited another verse:

"The king is a child, the city is half built, and is in love with the five wicked ones;

There are two mothers and two fathers, who are saying, 'Pandat consider this';

O holy saints, give me such an understanding, by which I may obtain my (God) soul's lord.

Within, there is a fire, and the forest is putting forth its fresh leaves, the sea is the body;

The sun and moon are both within the body; but you have not obtained this knowledge,

Look on him as a worshipper of God, who regards all (friends and foes) as one;

Regard this, as His custom, that He possesses the power of forgiveness;

(Alas! that) he, who is my companion, will not listen to me, and only desires something to eat;

Nanak, the slave of slaves says 'Sometimes it is pleased, sometimes angry!' "240

The Pandat, on hearing these verses, made an obeisance and said, "I teach the world, I have also learnt something myself; Sir! pray give me some blessing also in God's Name." Then the Sri Guru said, "O saint! what have you read? and what is the first lesson you teach your pupils?" then the Sri Guru uttered the following lines in the Ram Keli Rag:

"The great God (On) be praised!

The great God created Brahma;

The great God is He who created me;

The great God made me to travel this world;

The great God also formed the (four) Vedas;

By singing the great God's praises, one obtains salvation;

By the great God, the worshippers of God obtain deliverance;

Consider the meaning of the letters OM,

240 These verses have already occurred in the seventh discourse.

For the letters OM are the root (of happiness) in the three worlds.

Listen Pandha ! and see what useless matters you write about ;

In future, write God's Name, and learn from your Guru about Gopala."

Then the Pandat, on hearing it, fell at his feet, asking for protection : and he received instruction, and was called a Sikh, and began to meditate on the Guru.

CHAPTER XXXIX

THE DISCOURSE WITH KALU

Then the Sri Baba, becoming distressed, departed from Sultanpur, and after 12 years' (wanderings) returned to the land of the Panjab. At first (on his return), he came and stopped in a desert place, about two koss from Talwandi. After they had rested awhile, Mardana made request ; "Say, O king ! if I have your permission, to go and get information of the people of my family, and see whether they are alive or dead." Then the Sri Guru laughed and said, "O Mardana ! if such be your desire, then go and visit them ; and go also to Kalu's house, but return immediately ; but mind you do not mention my name there." Then Mardana fell at his feet, and, after touching his feet, went off to his own home ; but Bala and the Guru Nanak remained seated there. Then, immediately on Mardana's arrival there, a great many people collected and came and seized his feet ; and all began to say, "Mardana, the Dum, from always remaining with Nanak, now appears a good man. He is far raised above (us), people of the world. Therefore let those, that are come, fall at his feet." Then Mardana, having visited his own home, set off to return, and, having come to the house of Kalu, went and seated himself in the courtyard. Then the mother of the Sri Baba rose and embraced him round the neck, and began to weep, and lament, saying, "O Mardana ! give us some news as to where Nanak is." Many people collected in the compound ; Mardana then said to them, "Brothers ! when we were at Sultanpur, then we were one ; but I can give no after news of him." Then Mardana, having sat there awhile, rose and departed ; on which the mother said (to the people). "This, that Mardana departed so quickly from the courtyard, is not

devoid (of suspicion) ; I believe that Nanak is with him." Then the mother of the Sri Baba immediately rose and stood up, and, taking some clothes and sweetmeats, followed and caught up Mardana on the road, and began to say, "O Mardana ! do you, by some means, cause me to see Nanak again." On this, Mardana remained silent. Then the mother and Mardana both together went on, and, having proceeded two koss, came to where the Sri Guru was seated. When the Sri Guru saw that his mother was come, then he rose and fell at her feet ; and on this, the mother began to weep greatly. Then the mother took the Guru into her arms, and, kissing his forehead, said, "I give myself as a sacrifice to you, O my son ! and, whatever places you have visited, to them also I sacrifice myself, O my son ! you have greatly rejoiced me to-day, in that you have shown yourself to me." Then the Sri Baba, from love for his mother, began also to weep and lament, saying, "O Mardana ! sound the rebec."

Then Mardana sounded the rebec, and Nanak recited these verses in the Wadahans (?) Rag ;

"My state (in longing for Thee, O God) is that of the taker of intoxicating drugs, when he cannot get those intoxicating drugs, and as that of fishes when they cannot get water ;

And, he, who is absorbed with his Lord, he is satisfied with everything (and says),

'I will go and sacrifice myself, and cut myself into pieces, for the sake of my Lord's Name.

Pause

The Lord is that most fruitful Tree, the name of which is Immortality ;

And he, who drinks thereof, becomes satisfied, and to Him will I sacrifice myself ;

He cannot be seen by me, although He lives with all ;

How will one's thirst be allayed, if one only put one's head on a high wall (in the middle of the tank, out of reach of the water).

Nanak is Thy salesman (banian) ; Thou art my capitalist and all my stock ;

All doubts will be removed from my mind, when I shall continually remember Thy praise."

Then, again, the mother, producing the sweetmeats and clothes, placed them before him and said, "O my child,

do you eat these." (Nanak said), "I am quite full." Then the mother said, "What have you eaten to satisfy you?" Then the Sri Guru said, "Mardana, sound the rebec." Then Mardana sounded the rebec, and Nanak recited these verses²⁴¹ in the Siri Rag :

"All my delicacies and sweets are obeying God, and my salted dishes are listening to His Name ;

My acids and sour relishes are uttering His Name, and the subduing my passions are my spices ;

My faith in Him alone is for me the thirty-six great viands of life, and those on whom He looks with kindness (obtain them) ;

O Mother ! all other foods, though pleasing to one's self, produce pain,

²⁴¹ The following translation of these verses is given by Dr. Trumpp; see Adi Granth, page 24;—

All juices are sweet by minding (the name), (all are) seasoned by hearing (it).

The acid (juices) will go off by uttering (the name) with the mouth, by the sound they are made spices.

On whom he looks in mercy, to him the thirty-six kinds of food are one substance.

PAUSE

O father ! other food is a poor pleasure.

By the eating of which, the body is pained and disorder rules in the mind.

(2) Red clothing is a red heart ; whiteness (of clothes), truthfulness and donation.

Blueness and blackness (of clothes), wicked actions ; putting on clothes, meditation on the feet (of Hari).

The waistband is made of contentment, wealth and youth is thy name.

PAUSE

O father ! other clothing is a poor pleasure.

By the putting on of which the body is pained and disorder rules in the mind.

(3) To have a knowledge of a horse's saddle, of a golden back-strap, this is thy way.

Quiver, arrow, bow, sword-belt are the constituent parts of virtue (with thee).

A musical instrument, a spear, appearing publicly with honour, (this) is thy business, O my caste !

PAUSE

O father ! other mounting is a poor pleasure.

By which mounting, the body is pained and disorder rules in the mind.

(4) My house and mansion is the delight in (thy) name, thy (merciful) look my family.

That is (thy) order, which will please thee, (though there be) other very boundless talk.

O Nanak ! the true king does not ask nor deliberate.

PAUSE

O father ! other sleeping is a poor pleasure.

By which sleep, the body is pained and disorder rules in the mind.

And are such that those who eat them, their bodies are troubled, and many sorrows arise in their minds."

Then again the mother said, "O son ! take off this long coat, and put on these new clothes."

Then the Sri Guru recited this second verse :

"My red clothes are the being dyed with (His love), and my white garments, truth and alms ;

My blue (garment) is the washing away of the blackness (of my heart), and my coat is the always meditating on Him ;

My waist-band is patience ; my wealth and youth are His Name ;

O mother ! all other clothes, though pleasing to one's self, produce pain,

And are such that those who wear them, their bodies are troubled, and great sorrow arises in their minds."

Then Kalu also received information and, mounting his horse, came there ; and the Sri Guru, on seeing him, went and fell at his father's feet, and made his obeisance to him. Then Kalu also began to weep, and said, "O Nanak ! you mount this horse and come home ?" Then the Sri Guru said, "O father ! this horse is of no use to me." Then Kalu said, "O son ! do you give up these deeds of simpletons." Then the Sri Guru recited the third verse ;

"My horse, saddle, and golden trappings are to learn Thy way ;

My quiver, arrows, bow and spear are to run and seize Thy excellencies ;

My musical instruments and lances are the being received with honour by Thee, and Thy mercy is my caste ;

O my Lord ! any thing else one mounts, though pleasing to one's self, produces pain,

And is such that those who mount thereon, their bodies are troubled, and great sorrow arises in their minds."

Pause

Then again Kalu said, "Son ! do you come home for a short while ; we have now got a (detached) house, quite apart (from everyone) ; do you come and see (your family) at all events, for you have returned after a long while ; your family are there ; do you come and see them, and remain a

few days, and if you wish it, then you may go away again." The Sri Guru recited the fourth verse;

"The joys of Thy name are my house, and my family are Thy merciful looks ;

Thy commands (to my family) are those things which please Thee ; and to say more is useless ;

Nanak says, 'Thou art the True King, there is no need for Thee to ask or seek counsel' :

O my Lord, all other sleep, though pleasing to one's self, produces pain,

And is such, that those who sleep that sleep, their bodies are troubled, and great sorrow arises in their mind."

Then again the Sri Guru Baba said, "O father ! (excuse me) from coming to you just now, but I will (certainly) come and visit you ; but do you now listen to my request for to-day, for my heart is sad." Then on this, the mother said, "Son ! how can my mind be comforted ? for twelve years, you have kept me sorrowing ; now that you have returned, why will you not come to your home to-day ? O, my son ! how can my mind be made happy ?" Then the Sri Guru said, "O mother, when I give my promise, your mind should be satisfied." Then the mother remained silent. Afterwards she said, "Listen child ! why has your heart been made sad ? Do you tell me at all events ; if you desire it, then I will marry you a second time with great pomp and much splendour, and with much music and singing." Then the Sri Guru recited a verse in the Suhi (?) Rag ;

"Listen, my respected mother and parent ! the Name of God only pleases me ;

I wonder about sad, when the Lord God does not come into my thoughts.

If he come not into my thoughts, I wander about sad ; God only satisfies my soul ;

Listen my maid and companion²⁴² is filled with love (for God), and my young heart is full of (His) youth ;

And I cannot live without my Beloved (God), for one instant or second, and sleep comes not to my eyes (without Him).

Nanak says truly, 'Listen, my mother ! the Name of God only pleases me.'

Listen ! my mother and parent ! the saints possess nothing but the Name of God ;

²⁴² My passions and desires.

My soul was dark ; the holy men adorned it in such a way, that it always returns to the holy.

It returns ever to the holy ; the holy have no wealth but the Name of God ;

And the Name of God is such, that it will never diminish in worth.

Although it may rain, it becomes no greener, and, if the sunshine wax a hundredfold, it never dries up ;

When one departs, one's excessive youth and great loveliness will not go with one.

Nanak says truly ; 'Listen, my mother and dearest parent, the saints possess nothing but the Name of God.'

Listen, my respected mother and parent ! this my heart will tell these a tale ;

My Lord God often came not into my mind, and was continually forgotten through negligence ;

I have forgotten Him through negligence, O mother ! because my mind was absorbed in worldliness ;

Every living head will there have to give an account, whether he have done evil or good ;

My wedding day is fixed, and a few days only remain (to it), but my heart is still telling its tale of God !

Nanak says truly, 'Listen my respected mother and parent,

He is forgotten by me through negligence' !

O my respected mother and parent ! the wedding party (i.e. death) has arrived ;

I am the bride ; the angel of death is the wedding party ; and death is the bridegroom.

Death is such a bridegroom, O mother ! that when one departs, one can say nothing ;

The five attendants²⁴³ go to another home, and the house remains quite empty ;

And he, who is to marry me, he is taking me away, and I cannot stop him :

Nanak says truly ! 'Listen, my mother ! death is my bridegroom !' "

After this, Kalu said ; "My son, I will marry you into some good family ; do you come along home ?" Then in reply, the Sri Guru said, "O father dear ! that Contriver and Creator of all things is a Being who never forgets ; whatever he ordains, that is right." Then, again, the mother spoke,

²⁴³ Lust, anger, pride, covetousness and worldly love.

"O my son ! do you now get up and come along with us, and leave off these absurd ways : how can it be known whether we shall ever meet again or not ?" Then the Sri Guru recited another verse in the Maru Rag ;

"The order for me is to take the Name of my husband (God) in the early morning ;

The tents, umbrellas, canopies and ready yoked chariots are all waiting ready ;

Those who meditate on Thy Name they will obtain honour ;

Father ! I am an unfortunate and deceived creature, for I have not discovered Thy Name ;

This my mind is blind and filled with error.

The pleasure, I enjoyed, brought forth pain, and this was written in my fate, mother !

My joys are few, my troubles are many, and my life has been passed in sorrow ;

How can there be separation for those who are already separate, and what meeting for those who have already met ?

It behoves us to praise that Lord, Who has manifested all the plays (of the world).

By our good fate, we obtain (God), and these our bodies enjoy pleasure ;

By our evil destiny, those who are united, separate, and yet Nanak says, 'This is good fortune.' "

Then again Kalu spoke, saying, "My son ! take off this beggar's coat from off thy neck, and put on these new clothes, and bathe, and put on the distinctive mark on thy forehead ; leave off those ways and doings of devotees, and walk on the straight road." Then the Sri Baba said, "O father dear ! do you know the meaning of praising the great God." Kalu said, "I do not know what you are talking of." Then the Sri Guru recited this verse ;²⁴⁴

"My body is made of Kungu, my tongue of jewels, the breath of my body is of the perfume of Agar.

My forehead is marked with the sixty-eight places of

²⁴⁴ Dr. Trumpp, in his *Adi Granth*, page 25, translates these verses as follows:—

"(1) A body (besmeared) with kungu, adorned with jewels, perfume of aloe-wood, the breath (kept fast) in the body.

The mark of the sixty-eight Tirthas in the face, in this there is display of little wisdom.

In that is wisdom: praising the true name, the abode of (all)

pilgrimage, inside of which the understanding dwells ;
 And, after being purified, I sing the praises of Him, whose
 Name is true ; He is an ocean of excellencies ;
 Sir, the understanding of others may differ from this,
 And, although it may be explained to them a hundred
 times, the false man will cling persistently to his
 falsehood."

Pause

On this, Kalu again said, "My son ! some are Sidhs, some are Pirs, and the whole world knows such, and does worship to them ; and their food-houses are always open, and they feed many people, and their standing in the world is respectable, and they live comfortably. Well : will the world obtain deliverance through them or not ?" Then the Sri Guru recited the second stanza ;

"He, to whom people do service, is called a Pir, and the world all look on him as sincere.

And another publishes, and makes known to the world, that he is a Sidh ;

But if their honour be not held in account by God, all their worship is useless."

On this Kalu again said, "These Sidhs and Pirs are they, whom the world looks on as such (i.e. honourable) ; but what is that, by which one may be delivered, and by means of which one will be held in honour, by the Great God and by the world at the same time ?" Then the Sri Baba replied ;

"Those of whom the true Guru has approved, them none can dishonour ;

excellences.

PAUSE

O Father ! other wisdom other and other. If it be practised a hundred times, it is the false effort of the false ones.

(2) He (one) may apply himself to worship, he may be called a Pir, the whole world may flock to him.

He may make his own name famous, he may be counted amongst the Sidhs.

When his (honour) does not fall into account (before God) all (his) worship is (but) a wretched thing.

(3) Those who are established by the true Guru, nobody can efface. Within them is the abode of the name, by the name they will become manifest.

(By whom) the name is worshipped, the name is minded, they are always unbroken and true.

(4) When dust is mingled with dust, what will become of the soul ? All clevernesses are burnt with the body ; it rises and goes weeping.

O Nanak, the name being forgotten, what will become (of it), when having gone to the gate (of God)."

Inwardly, they have the treasure of His Name, and, from taking that Name, they obtain great fame ;

His Name they worship, His Name they respect, for it never will fail, and is always true."

On this Kalu again said, "O Nanak, ! what will be the state at God's threshold of those who never remember His Name all their lives, and spend all their time in doing the world's business ?" The Sri Guru recited the fourth stanza ;

"The base will be mixed with the dust, and their life will be of no profit.

All their cleverness will be burnt (with their body), and, weeping, they will depart ;

Nanak says, 'Those who forget His Name (here), there is no knowing what their state will be, when they go to God's threshold.

O Father dear ! those who forget His Name here, how will they hereafter obtain admission there ? ''

Then Kalu said, "It is true Sir, this thing is indeed so." Afterwards Kalu again said, "You are a very holy man, and we did not know it ; but tell me, my son ! what will be our state, for we have never remembered the Name of the great God." Then this speech slowly issued from the Sri Guru's mouth, "O father dear ! as shall be my state, so shall be your state."

CHAPTER XL

THE DISCOURSE WITH THE PANDATS OF BANARAS

After this, the Baba went to Kashi (Banaras), and the Pandats of that place heard that Nanak, who was talked of as a great devotee, had come there ; (so they said), "Let us go and see him." Then the Pandats came, and, setting forth there, paid him a visit, and asked him this question, "O Nanak ! how is it, that, although we are always reading and listening to the Vedas, our pride cannot be subdued, and we cannot obtain peace of mind?" Then the Baba said, "The evil of your hearts is not removed ; and for this reason it takes no effect." Then the Pandats said, "Sir ! how shall we obtain peace of mind?" Then the Sri Baba recited a verse in the Siri Rag ;²⁴⁵

1st stanza

Covetousness is the dog, falsehood is the sweeper, food obtained by cheating, the carrion ;

The defaming (others) is the excrement ; tale-bearing, the fire ; wrath the chandal ;²⁴⁶

²⁴⁵ The following translation of these verses is given by Dr. Trumpp, in his *Adi Granth*, page 23.

(1) Covetousness is a dog, falsehood a sweeper, food obtained by cheating, carrion.

Another defamation (is stirring up) another's dirt ; tale-bearing, fire, wrath, a Chandal.

Enjoyments, praising thyself, these are my works, O Creator !

PAUSE.

O Father ! may (such things) be spoken by which honour is obtained. Those, who do excellent works, are called excellent at the gate (of God), those who do low works, sit outside and weep.

(2) (There is) the enjoyment of gold, the enjoyment of silver, the enjoyment of a fascinating woman (and) of the scent of sandal-wood.

(There is) the enjoyment of a horse, the enjoyment of a bed, the enjoyment of a palace ; sweet is the enjoyment of meat.

So many are the enjoyments of the body ; how shall the name dwell in (this) body ?

(3) That speech is acceptable, by which speech, honour is obtained. He who speaks insipid things, comes to grief ; hear, O foolish, ignorant heart !

Those, who please Him, are good, what will the others say ?

(4) They have understanding, they have honour, they have wealth in their lap, in whose heart he (God) is contained.

What for praising them ; is any one (else) beautiful ?

O Nanak ! without (his) glance they are not fond of giving, nor of the name.

²⁴⁶ A chandal is a low, mean person, a person of low caste, an outcast.

Enjoying myself, praising myself, these (alas) are my works, O Creator !

O Father, may that be said by you, by which His honour is increased !

Those, who do good, will be deemed good at God's threshold ; those, who do evil, will sit outside and weep.

There is the enjoyment of gold, the enjoyment of silver, the enjoyment of a fascinating woman, and of the scent of sandal-wood.

There is the enjoyment of a horse, the enjoyment of a bed, the enjoyment of a palace ; there is the enjoyment of sweetmeats.

But, when such are the enjoyments of the body, how can His Name remain there ?

That speech is acceptable, by which His honour is increased ;

He, who speaks evil, suffers pain ; hear, O foolish, ignorant heart !

Those, who please Him are good ; and no one else will be able to say anything to them :

They have understanding ; they have honour ; they have wealth in their lap ; in whose heart, He (God) is obtained ;

What need to praise them ? other praise is worth nothing.

O Nanak, (those who are) outside of His glance, they will neither give alms, nor remember His Name."

The meaning is, "Listen, O Pandats ! the avarice, which is (in one's body), is as a dog ; falsehood is a sweeper ; and getting food by deception is like carrion, and the censuring of others is excrement, anger is a fire, and is like a mean wretch. To eat good and bad things, and to praise myself, this is written in my fate ; How can God's Name then remain in my heart ? and until I obtain a true companion, till then, how can my heart be pure ? O Sirs ! we should only speak those things, from uttering which His honour is established. Those who do good deeds, they will be called good at the Threshold of goodness of God ; and those who commit base actions, they will receive punishment and will remain weeping. That which is called the mind, it is ensnared in the pleasures of the body, then how can it obtain the pleasure of God's Name ? Some long for gold, some long for silver, some long for women, and others long for the smell of sandal-wood ; some long for horses, some long for fine beds, some long to make

palace, some long to eat sweetmeats, some long to eat meats ; when all these longings exist in the body, then how can God's Name dwell in that body ? From speaking good, man's honour remains, but from speaking evil, man's honour departs ; and we should look on the word of the True Guru as sweet ; and of such (persons), the understanding also is enlightened, and they also have great honour ; and his Name, which is the true wealth, is possessed by those, in whose hearts the words of the Guru always dwell, and they are His."

Then the Pandats said, "O Nanak ! is this not true, that such is the excellency of this city of Kashi, that it is written in the Vedas, that whatever living things, be they sinners or saints, shall quit their bodies in this city of Kashi, they will go to the city of God, and there be blessed ?" Then the Baba said, "Listen Pandats ! at the time of death, if one read the incantation of Shiva, and look on it as the Name, Ram, of the True Guru, and a voice come into the ear of that creature, then that being is saved. Listen, O Pandats ! The Name of God is such, that, in whatever place, people shall take it, they will be saved. So when Kabir departed from Kashi, and went and lived in Magahar, and holy sages collected there, he obtained salvation there also ; and the only giver of salvation is the Name of the great King." Then the Pandats enquired and said, "O Nanak ! The great King has many Names, but what is that one particular Name of the great King, which gives salvation ?" Then the Sri Baba replied, "Listen, O Pandats ! there are various kinds of boats on rivers, to convey them to the opposite shore, but one only requires one boat by which to cross over. So also, all the Names of the great King can give salvation, but whatever Name of God, one's spiritual teacher teaches one about, that Name is sufficient to give him happiness." Then, on hearing these words, all the Pandats fell at his feet, and he gave them instruction about God's True Name.

GLOSSARY

OF

TECHNICAL TERMS AND WORDS

GURUMUKHI	ENGLISH
A	The sound with which singers begin their music.
ABDHUT	A kind of Hindu devotee who worships Shiv, neglects the ceremonies of religion, and goes naked, having the body besmeared with ashes.
ADDIAU	Fees or presents, given to priests, musicians, &c.
ADES	A salutation of Jogis.
ADHARWANJA	Tying one end of a sheet round the naked waist, and throwing the other end over the shoulder, a common preliminary to cooking among Hindu women.
ADHIARA	An arrangement, by which the profits of cultivation or cattle-rearing are devoted equally between the person who furnishes the land or stock and the labour.
AGAST	A thing formed of paper, somewhat like an umbrella, and turned constantly over the head of a bridegroom, as part of the marriage ceremony.
AKASBIRT	Living on what Providence may send from day to day.
AKASDIP	A lamp, which Hindus hang aloft on a bamboo, in the month Kartik; also a beacon.
AKASPAUN	Inhaling and holding the breath, a Jogi ceremony.
AKHARA	A place for wrestling or fencing or other sports.
AKK	A plant, containing a milky juice, which grows abundantly in sandy jungles.
ALAP	Tuning the voice for singing, taking the pitch.
ALLI	A gold or silver ornament, worn on the forehead, commonly consisting of several pieces.
AMBARI	A litter or seat, with a canopy, to ride in placed on an elephant or camel.

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS

A—continued.

AMBCHUR	..	..	Parings of the mango, dried in the sun.
AMBIR	..	..	The coloured powder, thrown by Hindus on each other during the Holi.
AMRAT	..	..	The food of the gods, ambrosia, nectar, immortality.
ANWLA	..	..	The name of an acid fruit, which is used for medicinal, dyeing, and other purposes.
ARGJA	..	..	The name of a perfume of a yellow colour and composed of several scented ingredients.
ARSI	..	..	A gold or silver ring, with a mirror set in it, worn on the thumb.
ARTI	..	..	A ceremony, performed in adoration of the gods, by moving burning lamps circularly round the head of the image, or before it, accompanied with boisterous music and ringing of bells.
ASAURI (Asavari?)	..	..	A kind of song or musical mode.
AST	..	..	The ashes of the dead, the bones, &c., which remain unconsumed by the fire of a funeral pile.
ASTAK	..	..	A song in honour of a tutelary saint or deity.
AUGHAR	..	..	A kind of Hindu fakir, whose habits are very filthy, (?) and who wears brass rings in his ears.
AUNSI	..	..	A kind of figure drawn on the ground, in the form of the head of a rake, by which a superstitious ceremony is performed, by way of prognosticating the visits of friends.
AUTAR	..	..	Birth, incarnation.

B

BABAL	..	..	A father, a term used by daughters, and especially in the songs, which are sung at weddings.
BABAN	..	..	A bier for an aged person, prepared with special expense, as a mark of respect.
BABRANA	..	..	The long, loose, dishevelled hair of a fakir.
BABRIAN	..	..	Hair too short to be tied into a knot.
BACH	..	..	An assessment, or exaction of labour and produce, made by Government, in addition to the regular taxes.
BACHBIGAR	..	..	Exaction of labour without compensation.
BADANA	..	..	The name of a sweetmeat, resembling the mulberry, made of gram, clarified butter and sugar.
BADDH	..	..	The stubble of wheat, &c., still standing in the field.

B—continued.

BADLA	..	..	A certificate, given to a Government servant, stating the terms of service, &c.
BAGHI PAUNI	..	..	To flap the arms against the sides, at the same time making a loud tremulous sound with the voice, done by beggars to excite in the spectators an almsgiving humour.
BAGPHARAI	..	..	That which is given to a groom by the buyer, after a horse is sold.
BAGPHARAI	..	..	That which is given to the sister of a bridegroom when she leaves him, after having led or attended him a short distance on the wedding journey.
BAH	..	..	Flowing in of sand and water from the bottom of a well.
BAHI	..	..	A ridged cylinder of gold or silver, worn on the arm by women as an ornament.
BAHIK	..	..	A common, or open ground, near a village where cattle assemble.
BAHINDA	..	..	The stripping and robbing by native women of any one whom they may meet on the 1st of Magh.
BAHIRA	..	..	Eating stale bread and drinking water drawn the previous day, practised as a religious rite by Hindus, on the Tuesdays of the month Chet, in worship of the goddess of smallpox.
BAHORA	..	..	Gifts to the bridegroom's mother, at a wedding, by the bride's father.
BAHORE DA TEUR	..	..	The petticoat, sheet and breast piece, given to a bridegroom's mother, at a wedding, by the bride's father.
BAHUTTA	..	..	An ornament worn on the upper part of the arm.
BAINCHHAR	..	..	A man remarkable for corpulence and strength, but not for wits.
BAISI	..	..	A kingdom of twenty-two states, spoken of a hill sovereignty.
BAITHAK	..	..	A place where people meet to sit and converse.
BAJNI	..	..	A percentage of the produce of a field set apart for the benefit of the poorer classes, as barbers, blacksmiths, bards, &c.
BAKAIN	..	..	The name of a tree, having a thick umbrella-shaped top.
BAKHUKA	..	..	A place prepared by Hindus to the memory, and for the worship, of ancestors, consisting of a pit, and a pillar formed of the earth taken out of the pit; there are generally three or four together.
BAKHALIAN	..	..	Wheat, gram, maize, &c., boiled whole and eaten with condiments, such as salt pepper, oil, &c.

B—continued.

BALAJ	The which is given to carpenters and other artisans, also to Brahmans, on the first or second days after the Diwali.
BALBAKKARA	..	..	..	A goat that has been offered to a deity.
BALBALJANA	..	..	..	To go round and round a person, in token of devotion to his interests.
BALBHAKKH	..	..	..	One who eats what has been offered to a deity, it being supposed that he does so at his peril.
BALBHOG	..	..	..	An offering to Krishna, presented early in the morning.
BALGUN	..	..	..	The wall, hedge, or fence, surrounding a piece of ground.
BALL	..	..	..	The leather thong used in driving a suhaga or drag over ploughed ground.
BAM	..	..	..	A medium musical mode.
BAM	..	..	..	A mumbling sound, made by the worshippers of Shiv, and supposed to be pleasing to him as "Bam, Mahadew, bam, bam."
BAN	..	..	..	A well, or reservoir, with steps leading down to the water.
BANBAJIR	..	..	..	A person who has charge of a forest district.
BAND	..	..	..	A mixed feed given to cows and buffaloes to increase their milk.
BANDH	..	..	..	Embargo laid on an article.
BANDHA	..	..	..	An article set apart as a pledge for the payment of a sum of money.
BANDHA	..	..	..	Property devoted to religious or charitable purposes, to procure the recovery of a person from sickness.
BANDHA	..	..	..	Any thing forbidden to be sold publicly.
BANDHA	..	..	..	A string put about the neck in connection with a vow.
BANDHEJ	..	..	..	A sum, given by stipulation to certain fakirs at weddings, to prevent them from giving trouble.
BANDI	..	..	..	The name of an ornament, worn by women on the forehead.
BANDNA	..	..	..	The Hindu ceremony of swinging a young child over a heap of mud on the 12th of the first pakkh of Bhadon.
BANG	..	..	..	An ornament, worn on the wrists, made of glass, &c.
BANGAR	..	..	..	Land, watered neither from well nor river, but dependent on the rain.
BANGNA	..	..	..	An ornament, worn by women on the forehead.
BANGRI	..	..	..	A kind of bracelet worn by women on the wrist.
BANI	..	..	..	The devotional service of the Sikhs.

B—continued.

BANK	An ankle ornament, worn by women, usually made of silver.
BANK	..	..	..	A wooden dagger used in fencing
BANK	..	..	..	A large oil or ghi vessel made of skin.
BANKPATA	..	..	..	Single-stick, dagger-exercise.
BANNA CHANNA	..	..	..	Earth thrown up into a ridge to form a boundary.
BANSTOR	..	..	..	The name of a caste who work in bamboos.
BANYAN	..	..	..	A Hindu shopkeeper.
BAR	..	..	..	A dirge sung for those slain in battle.
BARA	..	..	..	A leather well-bucket.
BARA	..	..	..	A sheep fold or enclosure.
BARA	..	..	..	Ground on which melons, etc., are planted.
BARAGI	..	..	..	A class of fakirs, who are under a vow to abstain from flesh and wine.
BARAN	..	..	..	A caste, of the four primary Hindu castes.
BARAR	..	..	..	The name of a low caste, much given to begging.
BARA SUHI	..	..	..	The clothing, &c., given to a bride by the bridegroom's father on the day of the wedding.
BARAT	..	..	..	A bridegroom's party at a wedding.
BARATH	..	..	..	The material manifestation of the Deity, viz., the universe viewed as constituting his bodily parts.
BARIAN	..	..	..	Dal soaked, ground, and made up into balls with condiments, and dried in the sun.
BARNA	..	..	..	To devote an article, usually money, by passing it round the head of a friend in token of attachment and devotion to him, after which it is given away to the poor.
BARNA	..	..	..	A present of clothing, jewels, etc., sent to a bride before marriage, by the family of the bridegroom.
BARNI	..	..	..	Performing religious rites for a family; the office of a household priest.
BASAKNAG	..	..	..	The name of the fabled snake, which is said to be coiled round the earth, to keep it from bursting.
BASANT	..	..	..	The spring of the year (from middle of March to middle of May) according to the Sastras, but among the common people, from middle of February to middle of April.
BASANT-PANCHMIN	..	..	..	The fifth day of Magh, distinguished among the Sikhs as the anniversary of Guru Govind Singh's decease.
BATAI	..	..	..	The share of produce which belongs to Government.

B—continued.

BATARNI ..	..	..	The river, over which Hindus suppose the souls of the departed pass, in entering the invisible world; also a cow offered to Brahmans, when one is near dying, with a view to his safe passage over.
BATASA ..	..	..	A sweetmeat.
BATEHRI ..	..	..	Food sent by the family of a bride, of the higher class of Hindus to the lodgings of the groom and his family, on the first day of the wedding ceremonies, it being contrary to rule to receive them under the bridal roof on the first day.
BATLOH ..	..	..	A large brass vessel, containing one or two maunds, in which Hindus cook their food when large quantities are required.
BATNA ..	..	..	A mixture of meal, oil, and some fragrant material, which is used as a substitute for soap, having the property of making the skin soft and delicate.
BATT ..	..	..	A boundary line between fields.
BATTI ..	..	..	Extra allowance of food to sepoys.
BAULI ..	..	..	A well, in which there are steps leading down to the water.
BAURYA ..	..	..	A low caste, who inhabit the jungles, and live partly by the game they catch, and partly by thieving.
BED ..	..	..	A wooden canopy or pavilion, underneath which Hindu marriages are performed.
BEDANT ..	..	..	The name of a Hindu system of philosophy.
BEDI ..	..	..	A division of the Khattri caste, to which Guru Nanak belonged.
BEGARI ..	..	..	One who works under compulsion, whether paid or not.
BEHI ..	..	..	The food placed before a wedding party at the bride's house.
BEIN ..	..	..	An irregular stream with a clay bottom, having the appearance of a canal, of which there are two in the Jalandhar Doab.
BEL ..	..	..	Money given to dancing girls and others at a wedding.
BELNA ..	..	..	The stick, with which the hand of a bridegroom is struck, as a part of the marriage ceremony.
BER ..	..	..	A coarse rope made of grass, straw, etc.
BET ..	..	..	The low land bordering on a river.
BHABRA ..	..	..	A caste of the Jaini persuasion, chiefly employed in traffic.
BHABUTIA ..	..	..	A fakir who rubs himself with ashes.
BHADDAN ..	..	..	The first shaving of a child's hair.
BHAI. ..	..	..	An honorary title amongst Sikhs.

B—continued.

BHAJI	..	..	A present of fruits, sweetmeats, etc., sent by the parents of a bride and bridegroom to their friends, when inviting them to the wedding.
BHAJWAN	..	..	Salmon-coloured, reddish-yellow, coloured with gerua (fakir's clothes).
BHAN	..	..	The mark made through a green field by turning down the stalks on both sides, in dividing it between two parties.
BHAND	..	..	One who sings or recites verses in abuse of another, and with a view to injure his character.
BHANDAR	..	..	A fakir's cooking-place.
BHARBHARI	..	..	A sudden rise in the price of grain, etc.
BHARO	..	..	A watering-place for travellers, etc., being furnished with vessels ready filled.
BHARWAI	..	..	Wages given to a teacher.
BHATHIARA	..	..	One who prepares victuals for travellers at an inn.
BHATI	..	..	Land bestowed on a Brahman or fakir by a ruler, as an act of religious almsgiving.
BHATRA	..	..	A low caste of Brahmans, that subsist by begging.
BHATT	..	..	A division of the Brahman caste, generally employed in singing the praises of persons in the hope of remuneration.
BHATTA	..	..	Food taken to farmers and their workmen in the field.
BHATTI	..	..	Food prepared for the family of a deceased person by a relative or friend.
BHATTI	..	..	Grain given by a zamindar to a blacksmith, on having a new hoe or ploughshare made.
BHAULI	..	..	Paying a share of grain, etc., as rent or revenue, the cutting and gathering being done under the inspection of a servant of the government or landlord.
BHA-UNI	..	..	The wheel on which the rope of a well-bucket turns.
BHAUR	..	..	The sound made with the beating of shoes, "as the shoes went bhaur, bhaur," spoken of one cast in a suit.
BHET	..	..	A sacrifice, offering, or song of praise, in honour of a goddess.
BHITTA	..	..	The white earth, which, when ground and mixed with water, is used by boys in learning to write.
BHOJKI	..	..	A Brahman, who officiates and receives the offerings at certain shrines.
BHONDAN	..	..	Money given to the presiding Brahmans at the close of a wedding.

B—continued.

BHUARA	..	..	Prevalence of an epidemic or other sickness in a particular locality.
BHUARA	..	..	A place, enclosed with a thorn hedge, outside of a village, where cattle are kept, each zamindar having his own.
BIAHNU	..	..	A suit of clothes, given to the bride by the bridegroom's father, two days after marriage.
BIAR	..	..	A vegetable or fruit left for seed.
BICHHUA	..	..	A ring, worn by women on the toes, the upper side of which is broad.
BICHKANUA	..	..	An ornament worn on the central part of the ear.
BIDAIGI	..	..	A present given to a person on dismissing him.
BIDDH	..	..	The timbers, set obliquely at the edge of a well, to support the wheel on which the rope runs.
BIJAK	..	..	Invoice, or price ticket.
BIN	..	..	A name applied to two kinds of musical instruments, the one a stringed, the other, a wind, instrument.
BIND	..	..	A coarse rope of grass or withs, coiled within a kachcha well, as a support to keep the sides from falling in.
BINDI	..	..	The name of an ornament worn by women on the forehead.
BINNU	..	..	A pad or mat placed on the head to support a burden.
BIR	..	..	Meadow or woodland reserved for the Government.
BIR	..	..	A boundary line between fields.
BIRAGI	..	..	A religious ascetic, who abandons terrestrial objects, thoughts, passions, etc.
BISARIAN	..	..	A mantar, repeated by Brahmans, etc., at the close of puja for the purpose of giving the God his dismission.
BODDI	..	..	The small tuft of hair that a Hindu retains on the crown of his head.
BOHUL	..	..	A heap of grain on a threshing floor, winnowed and ready for storing away.
BOK	..	..	A he-goat, especially one kept for breeding purposes.
BOKKA	..	..	A leather-bucket used in drawing water from a well.
BOR	..	..	A kind of silver or gold ornament, worn on the feet, loins, arms, &c., made so as to tinkle.
BRAI	..	..	Grain given to carpenters, etc., at sowing time.
BUDHKA	..	..	A boy's pigment-stand, used by school boys in writing on their wooden tablets.
BUHUNI	..	..	The first sale in the morning, for which the cash is paid down.

BUNJAH	..	..	A division of the Khatri caste, comprising fifty-two got, the members of which inter-marry among themselves, but remain separate from other Khatri.
BURDO BURDI	..	..	Fighting cocks, &c., on the condition that the owner of the winner takes both.
BYANA	..	..	A pledge or earnest money, a rupee generally being placed as a deposit, after a bargain is made, and before the full price is paid up, to prevent either party retracting.
CHABUTARA	..	..	An elevated place to sit on, made of bricks or earth.
CHADARA	..	..	The ceremony, among Sikhs, of marrying a widow to a brother, or other relative, of the deceased husband, which consists in having a single sheet spread over the contracting parties by the officiating Granthi.
CHAKAR	..	..	A sharp-edged iron, or steel, discus, carried on the head by Akalis, and used as a weapon.
CHAKK	..	..	A frame on which the wall of a well is built.
CHANDAL	..	..	A low mean person, one of low caste, an outcast.
CHANDAUA	..	..	A coloured awning, stretched with the Granth over a bride or bridegroom, in the ceremony of Mayan at weddings.
CHAUDHARI	..	..	The headman of a village or of a trade.
CHARH	..	..	A trench dug in the ground and used as a fireplace, when large dinners are to be cooked, and several pots are to set on at one time.
CHAT	..	..	A mess for cattle, made of ata, salt and water.
CHATTH	..	..	The ceremony of feeding Brahmans and others on special occasions, as on the consecration of a well or tank to expiate the guilt supposed to have been acquired by killing insects in digging it.
CHAU	..	..	The colter of a plough.
CHAU BACHCHA	..	..	A reservoir of masonry, usually adjacent to a well.
CHAUKA	..	..	A place besmeared with a mixture of cow-dung and mud where Hindus eat.
CHAUNK	..	..	A square place prepared on the ground, over which ata is spread at weddings, dedications, &c.; on the ata, marks are made by a Brahman or barber to obtain favourable omens from the planets, and these marks are worshipped by the bride and bridegroom, or other parties concerned.

C—continued.

CHAUNKI BHARNI

- .. To sleep on the ground, instead of on a bed, from religious motives; to fulfil a pilgrimage without sleeping on a bedstead, i.e., when a company of pilgrims stop at a place on their way, those, who instead joining them there from the surrounding villages, come in, and with them many of their friends, who keep watch through the night, and return home the next morning.
- CHAUNPKALI A kind of necklace worn by women.
- CHAUNTRA See Chabutara.
- CHAUPAR A game played with long oblong dice.
- CHET The name of the first month in the civil year.
- CHHABBA A small basket used for keeping bread in.
- CHHAKK Presents given to a bride by her maternal grandparents.
- CHHATTI A piece of red silk sent to announce the death of a person to his relatives.
- CHHEDNI A shoemaker's awl, but used in the Panjab only to cut leather, not to bore holes, and its blade is always flat.
- CHHIMBA A washerman.
- CHHUCHHI The part of a gun-stock, in which the ramrod is inserted.
- CHIKA A funeral pile, a bier.
- CHIPPI An oval-shaped dish usually made of wood, used by fakirs.
- 'CHITTHA A memorandum of money paid, or wages of servants.
- CHOLI A short gown, worn by women, reaching only to the waist.
- CHOTI A large lock of hair on the top of the head.
- CHUARI A bamboo, used for raising a load to be deposited on the back of a beast of burden.
- CHUHARHTHA A well with four Persian wheels.
- CHUHRA The name of a very low caste, whose business is sweeping.
- CHUKAWA The rent of a village or district.
- CHUKANTI The sum agreed upon as the price of any thing.
- CHUNGI Tax levied on merchants by weighmen, being a handful of whatever is weighed.
- CHUR A set of bracelets, extending from the wrist up the fore-arm.
- CHURMA A dish consisting of bread broken and mixed with ghi and sugar.
- CHUTKA A large handful, as much as can be taken up with the hand and fingers extended.
- CHUTKI A small handful, as much as can be taken up with the thumb and fingers.

DACHCHNA	..	..	A present to Brahmans on solemn or sacrificial occasions.
DAHA	..	..	A stick fastened to the neck of cattle, to keep them from running away.
DAI	..	..	The bride's attendant, who instructs her in the performance of the ceremonies.
DAIA	..	..	The bridegroom's attendant, who instructs him in the performance of the ceremonies.
DAKAUT	..	..	A caste of Brahmans, who consider themselves able to bear the calamity of the jabbardan, and therefore do not hesitate to receive it.
DAKHULA	..	..	The entrance of a wedding party into a city or village.
DAMDAMA	..	..	A monument raised in commemoration of great Gurus among the Sikhs.
DAMMANSIHI	..	..	A proportionate distribution of a bankrupt's property among his creditors.
DAND	..	..	An ornament worn round the arm above the elbow.
DANDA	..	..	A fakir whose head and feet are naked.
DANDAUT	..	..	A Hindu salutation.
DANPATTAR	..	..	A deed of conveyance for a gift.
DARAIN	..	..	An inflated buffalo-skin used as a buoy in ferrying a stream (common in the hills.)
DARBAR	..	..	The common appellation of the great Sikh temple at Amritsar.
DARMADARI	..	..	Adjustment of a dispute.
DARSANI	..	..	A draft payable at sight to one bearing certain marks, which it describes.
DASAUNDH	..	..	A tithe or votive offering of one-tenth of the estimated value of a person or animal, given to a god.
DASOGIAHRI	..	..	A method of sharing, by which one takes ten, and the other eleven parts.
DASOTRA	..	..	Ten per cent. of revenue given to the headman of the village.
DASTAK	..	..	Demurrage or fine imposed and renewed daily for delay in obeying orders.
DAUNDAUNKARNA	..	..	To publish by beat of drum.
DEHRA	..	..	A sacred sepulchral monument or Guru's seat.
DHAB	..	..	An unwallled tank or pond.
DHAHA	..	..	The high ground which has not been overflowed by the current of a river.
DHAIDENTI	..	..	To sit before anyone, and obstinately refuse to leave, by way of extorting compliance with some demand.
DHANASRI	..	..	The name of a musical mode, which is only performed after three in the afternoon.

D—continued.

DHARA	Something thrown into the opposite scale, to balance a vessel in which a liquid is to be weighed.
DHARAI	..	..	..	Hire for taking care of articles.
DHARAB	..	..	..	A heap of grain, or quantity of other merchandise, collected to be weighed.
DHARMSALA	..	..	..	An inn, where poor travellers are supplied gratuitously.
DHINGULI	..	..	..	A well-bucket attached to a pole, which works on the lever principle.
DHOK	..	..	..	An appointment for two litigants to meet at a certain place to have their cause adjudicated.
DHUAN	..	..	..	An ignited pile of chaff and rubbish, around which people warm themselves in cold weather.
DIBBH	..	..	..	A species of spear grass used in several ceremonies.
DOABA	..	..	..	A country between two rivers.
DOHAR	..	..	..	Ploughing a field both ways, length and cross.
DORA	..	..	..	An ornament worn by the bride at weddings.
DONNA	..	..	..	The country between two small streams.
DUM	..	..	..	The name of a caste of Muhammadan musicians and bards.
DUN	..	..	..	A tract of country lying between two mountain ridges.
DUNGWAI	..	..	..	Collecting grain, harvesting.

E

ENDWI	A hoop-shaped mat or cushion, made of cord or cloth, and placed on the crown of the head by those who carry burdens, especially by those who carry vessels of water.
-------	----	----	----	--

G

GAHA	Seizing and holding under restraint persons or property belonging to a debtor, in order to compel payment.
GAHAI	..	..	..	Threshing or treading out corn with oxen.
GAITRI	..	..	..	The name of a mantrar, a prayer repeated by Brahmans with the rosary.
GANDA	..	..	..	A string with knots, worn on the neck, &c., as a charm.
GANDHILA	..	..	..	The name of a very low caste, a sort of gipsies.
GANGAUTI	..	..	..	A kind of earth obtained from the Ganges and used for marking the forehead.
GARASNA	..	..	..	To get one into trouble by pressing a claim which cannot easily be met.
GARIST	..	..	..	The married state or condition of a secular (not a monk.)

G—continued.

GAUNIMAR	A caste of people whose women, wandering away from home, pretend to be widows, and having induced persons of wealth to marry them, watch their opportunity to seize and carry off valuable property.
GA-UR	..	..	The name of a musical mode, sung at midday.
GAUR	..	..	The name of a caste of Brahmans that had their origin in the country of Gaur.
GA-URI	..	..	The name of a musical mode, sung towards evening.
GHEULI	..	..	A cow that gives rich milk.
GHUNGANI	..	..	Grain of any kind, boiled whole.
GIRDA	..	..	The circle of hair round the head, when the crown is shaven.
GIRI	..	..	A title of a class of Hindu fakirs.
GOKHRU	..	..	An ornament worn on the wrist, being a ring with a ridged back.
GOT KUNALA	..	..	The eating together of persons of the same family on the bringing home of a bride.
GRANTHI	..	..	One whose business it is to read and expound the Granth,—very few, however are able to do the latter.
GUHA	..	..	A dried cake of cow-dung.
GUHARA	..	..	A stack of dried cow-dung.
GUIJAR	..	..	A caste of people who sell milk.
GUN	..	..	A hair-cloth, or hemp, sack used for loading asses, oxen, and mules.
GURBHAI	..	..	A fellow-disciple of the same Garu.
GURWAR	..	..	The day on which one is initiated as a disciple.
GUTAWA	..	..	A mess for cattle, made of cut straw, oil cake, meal, water, &c.
GUTT	..	..	A women's hair, plaited and hanging down the back.

H

HAL	A state of ecstasy into which fakirs work themselves.
HAR	..	..	A string of beads.
HAR	..	..	A long succession of fields with luxuriant crops.
HARH	..	..	A mountain torrent.
HARHAT	..	..	A Persian wheel.
HARI	..	..	A portion of land-tax levied while the corn is standing, before it is ripe, practised by the Sikh government.
HARNA	..	..	To guess at the weight of a thing by it.

H—continued.

HASLI	..	..	A gold or silver collar worn by women and children as an ornament.
HATTAL	..	..	Shutting up all the shops in a market.
HILA WASILA	..	..	One by whose aid employment is obtained.
HINDAKI	..	..	The character and writing in which accounts are kept.
HOKA	..	..	A public proclamation.
HUNDABHARA	..	..	Contract for transportation of goods, including the payment of duties, without extra expenses.
HUN KUN	..	..	The ups and downs of life.

I

INAMI	..	..	Land, &c., free toil &c.
INDRI	..	..	An organ of sense, a name given to the different organs of action and perception; those of action being the hand, the foot, the voice, the organ of generation and the organ of excretion. Those of perception being the brain or mind, the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue and the skin.
IST	..	..	A favourite, or patron, deity.

J

JABHEDAR	..	..	A man of rank and spirit.
JAGG	..	..	A great feast given to Brahmans and the poor from religious motives.
JAGIR	..	..	Land given by Government as a reward for service.
JAJMAN	..	..	A person, on whose custom Brahmans, barbers, and others have a legal claim. The hereditary Brahman or barber, &c., of a village must be paid his fees, whether he be employed, or another.
JAKHMANA	..	..	Compensation to a soldier for a wound or the loss of a limb in battle.
JAKKH	..	..	A very holy man and most devoted worshipper.
JAMAN TAHAD	..	..	Bail or security.
JANAMPATRI	..	..	A horoscope in which the birth of a child, year, lunar date and configuration of the planets at time of birth, are detailed.
JANEU	..	..	A string worn round the neck by Brahmans and Khattris.
JANGAM	..	..	A class of Hindu fakirs, who wear matted hair, and ring a bell.
JANNY	..	..	The company, which attends a bridegroom at a wedding.
JAP	..	..	Silent repetition of the Name of God.

I—continued.

IAP .. .. .	..	..	A devotion which consists in silent repetition of the Name of God, and counting the beads on a rosary.
JAT .. .. .	..	..	Matted hair as worn by fakirs.
JATT .. .. .	..	..	A caste of farmers.
JHARAL .. .. .	..	..	An excavation by the side of a river, from which water is drawn up for irrigation.
JHARI .. .. .	..	..	Long continued rain.
JHIWAR .. .. .	..	..	The name of a caste who catch fish and birds, and carry palkis.
JHUSMUSA .. .. .	..	..	The morning or evening twilight.
JUN BUTI .. .. .	..	..	A favourite source of gratification, a besetting sin.
JOG .. .. .	..	..	Austere devotion and intense meditation, practised by Jogis.
JUHAR .. .. .	..	..	A Hindu salutation.
JUN .. .. .	..	..	One of the eighty-four lakhs of births or transmigrations, to which bad --- are subject.

K

KACHCHH .. .. .	..	..	Measuring land or estimating the produce.
KACHKOL .. .. .	..	..	A dish used by devotees to collect their offerings in, being half the shell of a cocoa-nut.
KADHAI .. .. .	..	..	Weeds, &c., cleaned out of a field.
KAHANI .. .. .	..	..	A marriage engagement.
KAJJAL .. .. .	..	..	Lampblack, with which the eye-lids are painted.
KALANDAR .. .. .	..	..	A kind of monk, who deserts home and friends, and travels about with shaven head and beard.
KALS .. .. .	..	..	An earthen water-vessel, used in Hindu worship.
KAMAN .. .. .	..	..	The jugglery performed by women at the time of marriage, by which it is supposed the bridegroom is affected, and ensnared in the bride's love.
KAMARKOT .. .. .	..	..	An exterior city wall built for defence.
KANGAN .. .. .	..	..	An ornament worn on the wrists by men and women.
KANGANA .. .. .	..	..	A parti-coloured thread, tied round the right wrist of a bridegroom or bride.
KANGHA .. .. .	..	..	A large comb used by Sikhs.
KANGRE .. .. .	..	..	The name of a game, in which boys draw lines with charcoal on stones in two different places.
KANJAR .. .. .	..	..	A class of people, who wander about manufacturing and selling surki mats, baskets, &c.

K—continued.

KANOI	An officer appointed by Government to value a crop.
KANTHA .. ..	..	..	A rosary, made of large beads of gold, silver, crystal or onyx.
KANUNGO .. ..	..	..	An officer, who keeps an account of the tenures by which lands are held.
KAPAL KIRYA .. ..	..	..	A ceremony among Hindus, by which, when a corpse is burnt, the nearest relative breaks the skull, in order to allow the tenth sans to escape, nine being supposed to have departed at the time of death.
KARAH .. ..	..	..	A board used for levelling ground drawn by men or oxen.
KARAH PARSAD .. ..	..	..	A kind of sweetmeat, made of flour, sugar and ghi.
KARBATT .. ..	..	..	Self sacrifice, with a view to obtain salvation.
KATH .. ..	..	..	A marriage engagement.
KES .. ..	..	..	Hair of the head.
KHABCHU .. ..	..	..	A left-handed man.
KHADAR .. ..	..	..	The lowland on the margin of a river, which is occasionally overflowed.
KHADDA .. ..	..	..	Stream running through a ravine.
KHANDA .. ..	..	..	A two-edged dagger, worn on the head by Akalis.
KHANNI .. ..	..	..	An ordeal of fire taken into the hands, to prove one's innocence.
KHAPPAR .. ..	..	..	The alms-cup of fakirs.
KHARAR .. ..	..	..	A blanket, placed on the top of a cart, for carrying food for the bullocks.
KHARAUN .. ..	..	..	A wooden sandal, fastened on with thongs.
KHARI .. ..	..	..	A creek, inlet or deep water-course.
KHARJ .. ..	..	..	The bass in music.
KHASRA .. ..	..	..	Appraisalment of a crop, and the book in which recorded.
KHATT .. ..	..	..	A lot of presents, given to a bride by her parents.
KHATTA .. ..	..	..	Daily account, or waste-book.
KHEP .. ..	..	..	A trip; the goods carried in a single trip.
KHIDAI .. ..	..	..	Compensation for amusing a child.
KHING .. ..	..	..	A stringed instrument, played with the fingers.
KHINTHA .. ..	..	..	A patched quilt, worn by ascetics.
KHOBHA .. ..	..	..	Marshy ground, a bog.
KHOJJI .. ..	..	..	A detective or trackers of thieves.
KHOSSA .. ..	..	..	One who has no hair except on the chin.
KHUCHCH .. ..	..	..	A thorough investigation.
KHUD .. ..	..	..	Green barley, or wheat, cut for horse feed.

K—continued.

KINNA .. ..	..	..	To rain moderately, to sprinkle.
KIRNE .. ..	..	..	Artificial mourning and weeping at funerals.
KOH .. ..	..	..	A large leather vessel for drawing water from a well.
KULPAT .. ..	..	..	Family reputation.
KULTARAK .. ..	..	..	A youth, who is a credit to his family.
KUNDAL .. ..	..	..	An iron ring on an ox's neck, by which he is secured against thieves.
KUNGU .. ..	..	..	The name of a very fine composition of red colour, made of aunla, used by women to ornament their foreheads.
KUPP .. ..	..	..	A stack of chaff.
KURAM KARAH ..	..	..	A dish prepared to be eaten on the occasion of the first meeting of the parents of a bride and bridegroom, and in which other persons are not allowed to participate.

L

LADDA .. ..	..	..	A load or burden for a hired animal.
LADDA BAHUNA ..	..	..	To carry on hire (on mules, horses, &c.)
LAG .. ..	..	..	The fees given to various functionaries at weddings, &c.
LAGAN .. ..	..	..	A present, sent by a bride's father to the house of the bridegroom, with the summons to the wedding.
LAGMAR .. ..	..	..	Withholding fees from Brahmans and others at weddings, &c.
LAIPALAK .. ..	..	..	An adopted child.
LAJJU .. ..	..	..	A well-rope drawn by the hand.
LALER .. ..	..	..	A cocoanut.
LALERA .. ..	..	..	An empty cocoanut shell.
LAMBARDAR .. ..	..	..	The headman of a village.
LAMBU .. ..	..	..	A wisp of grass, &c., used in lighting a funeral pile.
LANA .. ..	..	..	A farmer's estate, with all its appurtenances, oxen, ploughs, &c.
LANGHAI .. ..	..	..	Ferriage, or hire of a boat, or toll at a bridge.
LANGHANI .. ..	..	..	A rude stile in a hedge, consisting of a forked stick.
LAT .. ..	..	..	The current of a river.
LA-U .. ..	..	..	A crop or cutting of grain or grass, &c., that is cut more than once in the same season.
LAU .. ..	..	..	A slanderous charge.
LAULASHKAR ..	..	..	An army including baggage, followers, &c.
LAUN .. ..	..	..	A well-rope drawn by oxen.
LAUN .. ..	..	..	A ceremony at Hindu weddings, in which the bride and bridegroom make four circuits round a fire.

L—continued.

LAUPAU .. ..	..	..	Something given instead of cash to discharge an obligation.
LAUS .. ..	..	..	Extra pay to servants, &c., on a journey.
LAVIHAR .. ..	..	..	A hired reaper.

M

MAHAL .. ..	..	..	The framework of rope to which the earthen pots of a Persian wheel are attached.
MAHAPARSAD .. ..	..	..	Meat, or food presented as an offering to an idol.
MAHANT .. ..	..	..	A headman among Hindu fakirs.
MAHASSUL .. ..	..	..	One appointed by Government or a landlord to superintend the harvesting of grain, etc., that is raised on shares.
MAHITA .. ..	..	..	A title of respect applied to Brahmans and others.
MAHURAT .. ..	..	..	The time supposed favourable for engaging in any enterprise or entering upon any business, as determined by divination.
MAJABI .. ..	..	..	A Churha who has become a Sikh.
MALWA .. ..	..	..	That which is spent on account of a village, by the headman for the benefit of fakirs etc., settled by a tax levied half-yearly.
MANAUTI .. ..	..	..	Agreeing to meet pecuniary obligations for another
MAND .. ..	..	..	Low moist ground on the bank of a river.
MANG .. ..	..	..	A betrothed female.
MANGETAR .. ..	..	..	A betrothed boy or man.
MANHA .. ..	..	..	An elevated platform in a cornfield, on which one sits to watch.
MANJHA .. ..	..	..	The central portion of the Bari Doab.
MANSAT .. ..	..	..	A man's height, used in speaking of the depth of water in a well or tank.
MANTRA .. ..	..	..	An incantation or chant.
MARH .. ..	..	..	A monument erected in memory of a deceased Hindu.
MARI .. ..	..	..	A small room, erected on the roof of a house.
MASAN .. ..	..	..	A place where corpses are burnt; also the bones that remain after a burning.
MASANDA .. ..	..	..	A Guru's priest, who receives offerings and presents them to the Guru.
MAT .. ..	..	..	A monument erected in memory of a deceased Hindu.
MAT .. ..	..	..	An abbey or cloister of Sanniasi fakirs.
MA-ULI .. ..	..	..	A wreath of thread of various colours, chiefly saffron and white, worn by women on the head at weddings.
MA-UN .. ..	..	..	The masonry work of a well that remains above ground.

M—continued.

MEDNI	A body of pilgrims going to visit the tomb of a saint.
MELAN	..	..	..	A female guest at a wedding.
MELI	..	..	..	A male guest at a wedding.
MILKH	..	..	..	A family estate or patrimony.
MIRASI	..	..	..	A caste of Musalmans, employed as musicians, and bards.
MISAL	..	..	..	A petty dependency subservient to the authority of a Raja.
MISSAR	..	..	..	A title of respect for Brahmans.
MITI	..	..	..	Day from which interest is reckoned.
MODHI	..	..	..	The man, who stands on the edge of a well, and handles the charas, in drawing water.
MODI	..	..	..	A storekeeper.
MUCHALLAKA	..	..	..	A fine, imposed in certain cases of arbitration, upon the party refusing to abide by the decision.
MUKAT	..	..	..	Deliverance of the soul from the body and exemption from further transmigration.
MUKHALU	..	..	..	A passage by which mountains are entered.
MUKLAWA	..	..	..	Bringing home a wife after marriage.
MULHO	..	..	..	A bait-bird, set near a trap, to entice others of the same species.
MUNIAR	..	..	..	A manufacturer of a glass armlets.
MUSADDI	..	..	..	A headman in a Raja's, or Sardar's household.
MUSALLA	..	..	..	A kind of staff, T shaped, carried by fakirs, to place the head on in prayer.

N

NAKHAS	An open market where horses cattle, &c., are sold.
NAMONARAIN	..	..	..	A form of salutation among Sunnis.
NANKAR	..	..	..	An allowance in land or money, to husbandmen and others.
NANT	..	..	..	A gold ear-ring worn by Hindus.
NAT	..	..	..	The name of a tribe of jugglers and rope dancers.
NECHI	..	..	..	Food given to Brahmans daily for one year, for the benefit of a deceased person.
NEUNDA	..	..	..	An invitation to a feast.
PAHI	..	..	..	A farmer who rents and cultivates land belonging to another.
PAHILUN	..	..	..	A cow, or buffalo, that has given, or is about to give, her first calf.

P—continued.

PAHUL	The Sikh baptism, or rite of initiation, which consists in sprinkling, on the face of the candidate, a kind of sherbet, previously consecrated, and passing round what remains, to be drunk by all the initiated, who are present, out of the same cup.
PAINTH	..	..	..	An open market, or market place.
PAIRI	..	..	..	The walk for bullocks in drawing water from a well.
PAKKHULI	..	..	..	The large canvas sheet, spread at the bottom of a cart.
PALACH	..	..	..	Ground left for a time, untilled and fallow.
PALITA	..	..	..	A roll of candle-wick used in exorcising evil spirits.
PAMMA	..	..	..	A name given in ridicule to Brahmans in the Panjab.
PANCH or PANCHAIT	..	..	..	A Committee of arbitration.
PANDHA	..	..	..	A school-master, or Brahman who directs the weddings and other ceremonies of a family.
PANJOTRA	..	..	..	Five per cent. of the revenue, given to the headman of a village.
PANJRATNA	..	..	..	Five things put into the mouth of a deceased Hindu, viz., gold, silver, copper, pearl and coral.
PARAMHANS	..	..	..	An ascetic, who professes to have subdued all his passions by meditation.
PARB	..	..	..	A sacred day, or season of religious, idolatrous festivity.
PARITA	..	..	..	One of the Brahmans, that officiates at a wedding, holding a secondary place, and attending to anything that may require his services.
PARSAD	..	..	..	Food, or sweetmeats, offered to the gods.
PASANG	..	..	..	A make-weight to balance the scales.
PATH	..	..	..	Reading the sacred books as an act of devotion.
PATTAN	..	..	..	A landing-place, or ferry, where the shore is smooth and hard, and the water fordable.
PATTH	..	..	..	A young goat, that has not yet begun to give milk.
PATWARI	..	..	..	One who keeps the land accounts of a village.
PAULI	..	..	..	A four anna piece.
PAWITTRA	..	..	..	A ring, made of dabbbh grass, and worn on the fourth finger, on occasions of presenting certain offerings.
PETLA	..	..	..	A bathing place, where there is little or no descent to the water.
PEURI	..	..	..	A wafer, pasted by Hindus on the forehead.
PHAHURA	..	..	..	A wooden scraper for removing manure from a stable.

P—continued.

PHAKK	..	..	..	A gentle shower of rain, a drizzle.
PHALA	..	..	..	The cotter of a plough.
PHALKA	..	..	..	A square wooden frame, slightly loaded, drawn by oxen in treading out corn.
PHALU	..	..	..	A plough-share.
PHANT	..	..	..	The arm of a river.
PHARAKA	..	..	..	The shining-out of the sun on a rainy day.
PHATKA	..	..	..	A winnowing of grain.
PINGAL	..	..	..	A treatise on prosody or versification.
PIR	..	..	..	A threshing floor, or place where grain is stacked up.
POR	..	..	..	A hollow bamboo, attached to a plough perpendicularly, with the lower end behind the share, and the upper having a hopper to contain the seed, which is thus drilled into the furrow in passing along.
PUJJAT	..	..	..	That which has been paid on a sum due.
PUNN	..	..	..	Charity given to obtain merit.
PURAN	..	..	..	The name of one of the eighteen Hindu Sastras.

R

RABAB	..	..	..	A kind of violin with three strings.
RAG	..	..	..	A musical mode of which there are six, named after six Deotas.
RAGNI	..	..	..	A tune of a class distinct from the rags; there are thirty, named after different goddesses or devis.
RAHAU	..	..	..	A pause, or repeat, in music.
RAHIT NAMA	..	..	..	The name of the Sikh Code.
RAHURAS	..	..	..	A form of worship, used by Sikhs in the evening.
RAKKH	..	..	..	Land reserved by Government, the wood, grass, &c., on which, is not to be cut.
RAKKHI	..	..	..	Wages for keeping watch.
RANBAS	..	..	..	The apartments occupied by Ranis.
RANGISAUDA	..	..	..	Merchandise bespoken at a certain rate, irrespective of what the market rate may turn out to be.
RAPTI	..	..	..	A village chaukidar, who reports to Government.
RAR	..	..	..	A level piece of ground.
RASOI	..	..	..	The place where Hindus cook and eat their food.
RATAB	..	..	..	Daily allowance of food for horses, cattle, etc.
RATH	..	..	..	A four-wheeled Indian carriage.
RA-U	..	..	..	The course, or dry bed of a river.

R—continued.

RAUL	..	..	..	A wandering class, who practise begging, quackery, thagi, etc.
RAUN	..	..	..	A marshy spot in a field, or on the border of a stream.
RAUNI	..	..	..	Watering a field previous to ploughing.
RAUR	..	..	..	Level ground, bare of verdure.
REJ	..	..	..	The soaking of the ground, produced by the over-flowing of a river.
REURI	..	..	..	A preparation of sugar, etc., in small cakes covered with til-seed.
RIND	..	..	..	A man who is inattentive to religious duties.
ROJANDAR	..	..	..	A day-labourer.
ROKAR	..	..	..	Cash, ready money.
ROKARYA	..	..	..	One who pays cash; a cash-keeper.
ROLA	..	..	..	The red powder, used by Hindus at weddings and at the Holi.
ROPNA	..	..	..	That which is sent by a girl's father to the bridegroom elect in the ceremony of magni, consisting of seven dried dates, and various other things.
RUHAR	..	..	..	The course, or dry bed, of a river.
RULD	..	..	..	A sponge, one who lives on others.
RUNGA	..	..	..	Something additional asked for by a purchaser, after a bargain is concluded.
RURH	..	..	..	A torrent formed by rain.

S

SADH	A religious person or saint.
SADHWAI	..	..	..	The stick put under the hinder part of a cart, to prevent it from tilting.
SAGAN	..	..	..	Presents, or alms, given on contracting a marriage.
SAHA	..	..	..	The day appointed for a wedding, and fixed by astrologers.
SAHUKAR	..	..	..	A money-dealer or capitalist.
SAI	..	..	..	A small sum given to seal a bargain.
SALHABI	..	..	..	Damp, applied to land subject to inundations, or that is well watered by the proximity of a stream.
SAMADH	..	..	..	A Hindu, or Sikh, tomb.
SAMI	..	..	..	A defendant in a law suit; also, a cultivator of the soil.
SAMRAN	..	..	..	Mentioning the Name of God.
SANDHI	..	..	..	A child or animal, etc., dedicated to the gods, and to be redeemed at one-eleventh of the value set upon it.
SANDHIA	..	..	..	Repeating mantras, and sipping water, at sunrise, sunset, and midday, a ceremony performed by Brahmans, Chattris and Vaisyas.

S—continued.

SANDHU	The name of a family among the Jatts.
SANHSI .. ..	..	..	The name of a class among the Jatts.
SANI .. ..	..	..	Cut straw, mixed with grain, oil-cake and water, as food for cattle.
SANKALAP .. ..	..	..	A vow, or consecrating a thing, to God.
SANKH .. ..	..	..	A shell blown by Hindus at worship.
SANNIASI .. ..	..	..	A devotee, who professes to have abandoned the world.
SAPARDA .. ..	..	..	A musician, attending on singing women.
SAPARDAI .. ..	..	..	Musicians, attending dancing girls.
SARADH .. ..	..	..	A Hindu ceremony, in which they worship and feed Brahmans on some day during the month Assu, in commemoration of their deceased ancestors, and for their special benefit.
SARANG .. ..	..	..	The name of a musical mode.
SARANGI .. ..	..	..	A musical instrument like a violin.
SAREWARA .. ..	..	..	A Jain devotee, who wears a slip of cloth over his mouth, to avoid the inhalation of animalculæ.
SARGAM .. ..	..	..	The seven sounds of an octave; the gamut.
SARGAST .. ..	..	..	A thing, formed of paper, somewhat like an umbrella, and turned over the head of a bridegroom in the marriage ceremony.
SARINA .. ..	..	..	The grain given by farmers to the Chamars, inhabiting their villages, in compensation for the menial services occasionally exacted of them.
SARNAI .. ..	..	..	An inflated skin used to carry passengers across a river.
SASTAR BASTAR .. ..	..	..	Arms and accoutrements.
SATABA .. ..	..	..	A match for firing a gun.
SATI .. ..	..	..	A woman who immolates herself on the funeral pile of her husband.
SATTI .. ..	..	..	A market where dry goods are bartered, the price being fixed by a go-between.
SAURH SALITA .. ..	..	..	Tent, bags, bedding, &c., loaded on a camel in travelling.
SAWADHAN .. ..	..	..	A form of benediction, used by Brahmans to inferiors.
SAWAYYA .. ..	..	..	The name of a measure in poetry, and a mode in music.
SIAPA .. ..	..	..	The ceremony of weeping, or making lamentation, for the dead performed by women.
SIDDH .. ..	..	..	A fakir of great attainments, a wonder worker, eighty-four of whom are generally stated to exist.
SIHRA .. ..	..	..	A chaplet of flowers, or a piece of gold or silver fringe, worn round the forehead by a bridegroom at the time of marriage.

S—continued.

SIKKH	A disciple, or follower, of Nanak.
SINGH	..	..	..	A Sikkh, who is a follower of Govind Singh, and has been formally initiated by receiving the pahul.
SIRBALA	..	..	..	The attendant of a bridegroom, who rides behind him on horseback in the marriage procession.
SIRHI	..	..	..	A bier, shaped like a ladder, used by Hindus.
SIRIRAG	..	..	..	The name of a musical mode, appropriated to the afternoon in winter.
SIRNI	..	..	..	Sweetmeats offered to saints.
SITTHNI	..	..	..	Obscene or abusive songs, sung by women at weddings.
SODHI	..	..	..	A title of the Guru, who resides at Kartarpur, and of his followers.
SUDRA	..	..	..	The name of the lowest of the four great Hindu castes.
SUKKH	..	..	..	A vow made to obtain some temporal blessing.
SUNDKA	..	..	..	A pack-saddle.
SUTAK	..	..	..	Ceremonial uncleanness from child-birth, lasting forty days, and extending to every thing in the house.

T

TAKA	A copper coin equal to two pice.
TAKNA	..	..	..	A small hatchet, carried by Sikhs to cut toothbrushes for themselves.
TAKYA	..	..	..	The dwelling place of a fakir.
TALLA	..	..	..	Low ground, contiguous to a mountain.
TANGAR	..	..	..	A net, in which cut straw is carried.
TAP	..	..	..	A kind of austere devotion.
TARAI	..	..	..	A marsh, or meadow land.
TEUR BEUR	..	..	..	A full suit of woman's clothes, the teur consisting of three pieces, the petticoat, short gown and shawl; the beur, of two bodice and veil.
TEWA	..	..	..	The record of one's birth, from which one's fortune is to be calculated.
THADDA	..	..	..	A land-mark, or boundary pillar.
THAPI	..	..	..	Dried cakes of cow-dung.
THOKA SIKKH	..	..	..	The carpenter caste among Sikhs.
THOSSA	..	..	..	The thumb presented turned down, in token of denial.
TIKKA	..	..	..	A mark, made by Hindus, on the forehead, &c., as a sectarian distinction.
TIKTIKI	..	..	..	A prop, shaped like a T, on which fakirs lean to rest or pray.

T—continued.

TIRLOK	..	..	..	The three worlds; heaven, earth, and hell.
TULSI	..	..	..	The name of a plant, (basil), which Hindus deem sacred, and worship.

U

UDHAL	..	..	..	A woman, who leaves her husband, and takes up with another man.
UJ	..	..	..	Accusation of an innocent person.

V

VACH	..	..	..	A tax levied by the lambardar of a village on those who are not zamindars.
VACHOLA	..	..	..	One who meditates between two parties, a mediator.
VADDH	..	..	..	Ground from which the crop has been removed.
VADHAWA	..	..	..	A song, sung on the birth of a child.
VAHN	..	..	..	The surface of a roughly ploughed field.
VAJNI	..	..	..	See bajni.
VANG	..	..	..	An ornament, worn on the wrists, made of glass, lac, etc.
VARA	..	..	..	A sheep-fold, or enclosure, with a hedge round it.
VARNA	..	..	..	See barna.
VATAHERI	..	..	..	See Batehri.
VATNA	..	..	..	See Batna.
VATT	..	..	..	See Batt.
VATT	..	..	..	Moisture of ground, making it fit to plough; also the proper time for sowing.
VED	..	..	..	See Bed.
VERARA	..	..	..	Wheat and gram sown mixed together.
VIAHTA	..	..	..	A lawfully married wife.
VIHRA	..	..	..	A yard, surrounded by buildings.
VIRAGI	..	..	..	A kind of wandering fakir, who practises certain austerities.
VIRT	..	..	..	The clientship (jajmani) of a Brahman, Nai. etc.

ENGLISH

GURUMUKHI

A

ACCOUNTS (*Terms with reference to*) ..
 APARTMENTS (*Queens'*) ..
 ARBITRATORS (*Terms for*) ..

Chittha; hindaki; khasra.
 Ranbas.
 Panch; panchait.

B

BARDS (*Terms for*) ..
 BASKETS (*Kinds of*) ..
 BATHING PLACES (*Term for*) ..
 BEACON ..
 BIRTHS (*Terms referring to*) ..
 BOOKS (*Names of*) ..
 BURDENS (*Pad for carrying*) ..
 (*Terms used with reference to*) ..
 BURYING PLACES (*Terms for*) ..

Bhand.
 Chhabba.
 Petla.
 Akas dip.
 Janampatri; sutak; tewa; vadhawa.
 Pingal; puran.
 Binnu; Endwi.
 Chuari; gun; kharar; khép; ladda;
 bahuna; pakkhuli; sadhwai; tangar.
 Masan, samadh.

C

CARRIAGES (*Kinds of*) ..
 CASTES (*Different*) ..
 CATTLE (*Common for*) ..
 (*Enclosure for*) ..
 (*Food for*) ..
 (*Instruments for*) ..
 CEREMONIES (*Various*) ..
 (*Terms with reference to*) ..
 CHAFF (*Stack of*) ..
 CHARITY (*Term for*) ..
 CHARMS (*Kinds of*) ..
 CHILD (*Adopted*) ..
 CITIES (*Terms with reference to*) ..
 CLIENT (*Terms for*) ..
 CLOTHES (*Kinds of*) ..
 COOKING (*Customs at*) ..
 CONTEMPT (*Terms of*) ..
 COW (*Terms relating to*) ..

Rath.
 Baniyan; baran; barar; baurya;
 banstor; bunjahi; bedi; bhatt;
 bhavra; bhatra; chanda; chuhra;
 dakaut; dum; garist; giristi; gujjar;
 gaunimar; gaur; jatt; jhiwar; kanjar;
 majabi; mirasi; nat; raul; sandhu;
 sanniasi; sanhsi; sudra.
 Bahik.
 Bhua.
 Band; bar; chat; gutawa; khud; ratab,
 sani.
 Daba; kundal.
 Bahinda; bakhuka; bahira; balbaljana;
 bandua; barna; chatth; chaunki
 bharni; sandhu; saradh; varna.
 Pawitra.
 Kupp.
 Pun.
 Bandha; bisarjan; ganda; gaitri; gatri;
 janeu; kantha; mantra; palita.
 Laipalak.
 Kamarkot.
 Jajman; virt.
 Choli; teur beur.
 Adhar wanya.
 Baimchhar.
 Guha; guhara; gheuli; pahilun; thapi.

C—continued.

CULTIVATION (*Customs regarding*) ..
(*Terms*) ..

Adhiara; bajni; batai; brai; bhauli.
 Ball; bach; biar; bohul; bhatta;
 bhatti; bhan; cha-u; dasogiari;
 dohar; dungwai; gahai; har; kadhai;
 karah; langhani; la-u; lavihar;
 manha; phahura; phala; phalki;
 phatka; phalu; pir; por; raun;
 rauni; rej; sahabai; vaddh; vahn;
 vatt; vatt; verara.

D**DEATH** (*Bones collected after*) ..

(Bler used at) ..

(Ceremonies at) ..

(Dirges sung at) ..

(Food used at) ..

(Mode of announcement of)

DEBTS (*Terms with reference to*) ..**DECOY BIRD** (*Term for*) ..**DEEDS** (*Kinds of*) ..**DEVOTEES** (*Kinds of*) ..

(Practices of) ..

(Salutations of) ..

(Terms relating to) ..

Ast.

Baban; chikka; sirhi.

Kapal kirya; nechhi; panjratna, sati.

Bar; kirne; siapa.

Bhatti.

Chhatti.

Damman sahi; laupau; manauti; miti;
pujjat.

Mulho.

Danpattar.

Abdhut; aughar; baragi; bhabutia;
 biragi, danda; giri; jakkh; jangam;
 kalandar; paramhans; sarewara; sadh;
 siddh; viragi.

Akaspaun; akasbirt; hal; jap; jap;
 jog; samran; tap.

Ades; dandaut; juhar; namonarain;
 ram ram; samadhan.

Babrana; bam; bhajwan; bhandar;
 chippi; kachkol; khappar; khintha;
 mahant; mat; musalla; sankh; tik-
 tiki; takiya.

Jap; jap; path; tap.

Chaudhari; jabhedar; lambardar; mu-
 saddy; patwari.

Manjha.

Darsani.

E**EARTH** (*Kind of*) ..**ESTATES** (*Term for*) ..

Gangauti.

Milkh.

F**FATHER** (*Term used for*) ..**FAMILY PRIEST** (*Term for*) ..**FARM** (*Terms referring to*) ..**FEES** (*Given to priests, musi-
cians, etc.*) ..**FERRIES** (*Terms applicable to*) ..

Babal.

Pandha.

Lana; pahi.

Addian; balaj; bharwai; bhatti; bid-
 aigi; dachchhna; laus.

Langhai; pattan.

F—continued.

FESTIVALS (<i>Powder used at</i>)	Ambir; rola.
(<i>Apparatus used at</i>)	Akaadip.
(<i>Various</i>) ..	Basant panchmin; jagg; parb.
FIELDS (<i>Boundaries, etc., of</i>)	Baddh; balgun; banna; batt; bir; channa.
FOODS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	Bakkalian; barian; churma; ghungani; parsad.
FORESTS (<i>Term relating to</i>)	Banbajir.
FRUITS (<i>Dried</i>) ..	Ambchur.
(<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	Anwla; laler; lalera.

G

GAME (<i>Kind of</i>) ..	Chaupar.
GESTURES (<i>Terms applicable to</i>) ..	Baghi pauni.
GOAT (<i>Sacrificial</i>) ..	Balbakkara.
(<i>Breeding</i>) ..	Bok.
(<i>Young</i>) ..	Patth.
GODS (<i>Food of</i>) ..	Amrat.
(<i>Incarnation of</i>) ..	Autar; barath.
(<i>Songs in honour of</i>)	Arti; astak.
(<i>Terms used with reference to</i>) ..	Balbhakkh, ist.
GUNS (<i>Term with reference to</i>) ..	Chhuchhi.
GRASS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	Dibbh; lambu.

H

HAIR (<i>Terms used with reference to</i>) ..	Babrian; boddi; bhaddan; choti; girda; gutt; jat; kes; khossa.
HANDFUL (<i>Terms for</i>) ..	Chutka; chutki.
HIRE (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	Dharai; khidai; rakkhi.
HOUSE (<i>Room above</i>) ..	Mari.

I

INN (<i>Terms with reference to</i>)	Bharo; bhathiara; dharmsala.
INVITATION (<i>To a feast</i>) ..	Neunda.
IRRIGATION (<i>Term</i>) ..	Jharal.

L

LABOUR (<i>Terms applicable to</i>) ..	Bach; bachbigar; bigari; rojandar.
LAND (<i>Terms applicable to</i>) ..	Bangar; bara; bet; bhati; bir; dhaha; doaba; donna; dun; inami; jagir; khadar; khobha; mand; palach; rakkh; rar; raur; tarai; thadda; talla.
LAW (<i>Terms</i>) ..	Darnadari; dastak; dhoh; gaha; jaman tahad khanni; khojji; khuchchh; lau; missal; muchallaka; rapti; sami; uj; vachola.
LAMPBLACK (<i>Term for</i>) ..	Kajjal.

M

MARKET (<i>Terms</i>) ..	..	Nakhas; painth; satti.
MARKS (<i>Terms for</i>) ..	..	Peuri; tikka.
MILITARY (<i>Terms</i>) ..	..	Batti; jakhmana; lau laskar; sestar bastar; sataba.
MISCELLANEOUS (<i>Terms</i>)		Daun daun karna; dhai deni; garasna; hattal; hun; kun hila wasila; hoka; jun buti; khabchu; misal; pauli; rind; ruld; thossa.
MONEY (<i>Terms with reference to</i>) ..	..	Rokar; rokarya; sabukar; taka.
MONUMENTS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Dehra; marh; mat; samadh.
MOUNTAIN PASS (<i>Term for</i>) ..	..	Mukhalu.
MUSIC (<i>Notes</i>) ..	..	A; sargam.
(<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Asauri; dhanasari; ga-ur; ga-uri; rag; ragni; sarang; sawayya; siri rag.
(<i>Terms of</i>) ..	..	Alup; bam; kharj; rahau.
(<i>Instruments</i>) ..	..	Bin; khing; rabab; sarangi.
(<i>Attendants</i>) ..	..	Saparda; sapardai.

O

OFFERINGS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Balbhog; bhet; dasaundh; karahparsad; karbatt; maha parsad.
OMENS (<i>Ways of taking</i>) ..	..	Aunsi; chaunk; kangre; mahurat.
ORGANS (<i>The</i>) ..	..	Indri.
ORNAMENTS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Alli; arsi; bahi; bahutta; bandi; bang; bangra; bangri; bank; bichkanua; bichhua; bindi; bor; chaukar; chaun- pkali; chur; dand; dora; gokhru; har; hasli; kangan; nant; vang.

P

PERFUMES (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Argja; batna; kungir; vatna.
PHILOSOPHY (<i>Hindu</i>) ..	..	Vedant.
PIGMENT (<i>Used for writing with</i>) ..	..	Budhka; bhitta.
PILGRIMS (<i>Term for</i>) ..	..	Medni.
PLACES (<i>For meeting, etc.</i>) ..	..	Baithak; chabutara; chauntra; dhuana.
PLANTS (<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Akk; tulsi.
PLEDGES (<i>Term used with reference to</i>) ..	..	Bandha.
PRIESTS (<i>Terms relating to</i>) ..	..	Barni; bhojki.
PROPERTY (<i>Term used with reference to</i>) ..	..	Bandha.
PURCHASES (<i>Terms relating to</i>) ..	..	Bagpharai; byana.

R

RAINS (<i>Storm at end of</i>) ..	..	Agath.
(<i>Kinds of</i>) ..	..	Jhari; kinna; phakk.
(<i>Sun shining after</i>) ..	..	Pharaka.
REPUTATION (<i>Man of</i>) ..	..	Kultarak.
(<i>Family</i>) ..	..	Kulpat.

R—continued.

REVENUE (<i>Terms</i>)	..	Chukana; dasotra; hari; inami; kachchh; kanoi; kanugo; mahassul; malwa; nankar; panjotra; patwari; sami; sarina; vach; vajni.
RIVER (<i>Sacred</i>)	..	Batarni.
(<i>Kinds of</i>)	..	Bein; harh; khadda; khari; phant; rurh.
(<i>Skins for swimming</i>)	..	Darain; sarnai.
(<i>Current of</i>)	..	Lat.
(<i>Course of</i>)	..	Ra-u; ruhar.
ROPE (<i>Kind of</i>)	..	Ber.

S

SALES (<i>Terms used with reference to</i>)	..	Bandh; bandha; bharbhari; bijak; buhuni; dharat; harna; rangi; sauda; rokar; rokarya; runga; sai.
SALVATION (<i>Term for</i>)	..	Mukat.
SANDALS (<i>Kind of</i>)	..	Kharaun.
SERVICE (<i>Certificate of</i>)	..	Badla.
SHEEP (<i>Enclosure for</i>)	..	Bara, vara.
SHOEMAKERS (<i>Instruments</i>)	..	Chhedni.
SICKNESS (<i>Term relating to</i>)	..	Bhuara.
SIKHS (<i>Special terms relating to</i>)	..	Bani; bhai; chadata; darbar; granthi; gurbhai; gurwar; kangha; khanda; masanda; majabi; pahul; rahatnama; rahuras; sikkh; singh; sodhi; takna; thoka sikkh.

SINGLESTICK (<i>Terms used at</i>)	..	Bank; bankpata.
SNAKE (<i>Kind of</i>)	..	Basaknag.
SPORTS (<i>Place for</i>)	..	Akhara.
(<i>Term applicable to</i>)	..	Burdo burdi.
SPRING (<i>Name for</i>)	..	Basant.
STATES (<i>Hill, term for</i>)	..	Baisi.
STOREKEEPER (<i>Term for</i>)	..	Modi.
SUITS (<i>Term used with reference to</i>)	..	Bhaur.
SWEETMEATS (<i>Kinds of</i>)	..	Batasa; badana; reuri; sirni.

T

TANKS (<i>Kind of</i>)	..	Dhab.
TITLES (<i>Of respect</i>)	..	Mahant, mahita, missar.
(<i>Of ridicule</i>)	..	Pamma.
TRADES (<i>Term for</i>)	..	Muniar.
TRANSMIGRATION (<i>Term with reference to</i>)	..	Jiun.
TRAVELLING (<i>Terms used with reference to</i>)	..	Sa-urh salita; sundka.
TREE (<i>Kind of</i>)	..	Bakain.
TWILIGHT (<i>Morning or evening</i>)	..	Jhusmusa.

V

VESSELS (<i>Various kinds of</i>)	Bank; batloh; kals.
VOW (<i>Kind of</i>)	Sukkh.

W

WASHERMAN	Chhimba.
WEAPON (<i>Kind of</i>)	Khanda.
WEDDINGS (<i>Ceremonies at</i>)	Agast; chandana; kaman; laun; sargast; sutthni.
(<i>Gifts</i>)	Bahora; bahore de teur; barasuhi; barna; brahmichhakk; khatt; lagan; ropna; sagan.
(<i>Food at</i>)	Batehri; behi; bhaji; got kunala; kuram karahi; vataheri.
(<i>Fees given at</i>)	Bagpharai; bandhej; bel; bhomdan; lag.
(<i>Different parties at, names of</i>)	Barat; dai; daia; mel; melan; parita; sarbala.
(<i>Apparatus used at</i>)	Bed; bedi; belna; kangana; ma-uli; sihra; ved.
(<i>Terms with reference to</i>)	Dakhala; gatth; janny; kath; kahani; lagmar; mang; mangetar; muklawa; saha.
WEIGHTS (<i>Terms with reference to</i>)	Dhara; pasang.
WELLS (<i>Kinds of</i>)	Ban; bauli; chuharhta; harhat.
(<i>Terms regarding</i>)	Bah; biddh; bind; chakk; chaubachcha; mansat; ma-un; modhi; pairi.
(<i>Instruments</i>)	Bara; bhauni; bokka; dhinguli; koh; lajju; laun; mahal.
WOMEN (<i>Terms applicable to</i>)	Udhal; viahta.
WORLDS (<i>Three</i>)	Tirlok.
WORSHIP (<i>Ceremonies at</i>)	Arti.

Y

YARD (<i>Surrounded by buildings</i>)	Vahra.
YEAR (<i>Term for</i>)	Chet.

THE END

Sardar Dyal Singh Public Library,

NEW DELHI.

DATE LOANED

This book may be kept for

Fourteen days

A fine of **.06 nP.** will be charged for each
day the book is kept over-time.

--	--	--	--

Sardar Dyal Singh Public Library,
NEW DELHI.

1. Books may be retained for a period not exceeding 14 days.
2. Books may be renewed on request if they are not required by some other member of the Library.
3. Dog-eared the pages of a book; marking or writing therein with ink or pencil; tearing or taking out pages or otherwise damaging it will constitute an injury to a book.
4. Borrower's will be required to pay full price of any book lost or damaged by them.

HELP TO KEEP THE BOOK NEAT & CLEAN

S.L.S.